

# INDIAN CULTURE

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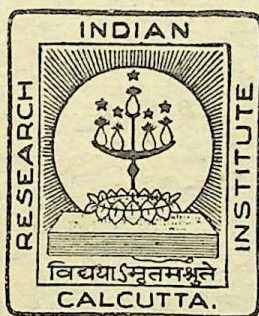
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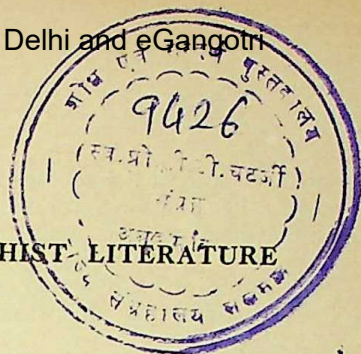
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## ANIMALS IN EARLY JAIN AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE

By B. C. LAW

Manmohan Chakravarti's monograph on '*Animals in the Inscriptions of Piyadasi*' published in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, is a pioneer work. B. M. Barua's notes on animals in Asoka's Pillar Edict V and those in Barhut reliefs are informative and interesting. My own article entitled '*Studies in the Apadana*' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 13 of 1937, was intended just to give an incentive to competent scholars for a systematic treatment of the subject. In the present article I have put together some more interesting information unnoticed by previous writers, which may be culled from the Pali Canon and its commentaries, as to the habitats, instincts and habits of the beasts, birds, insects and aquatic animals.

On the purely scientific side we have, first of all, the broad distinction of the fauna from the flora as *jāṅgamas* (those capable of locomotion) from *śhāvāras* (those wanting in it). Secondly, we find them classified, according to modes of generation, into four kinds, viz. *jarāyuja* (womb-born, viviparous), *aṇḍaja* (egg-born, oviparous), *svedaja* (moisture-sprung), and *opapātika* (*aupapāduka*, *sui generis*). They are classified, according to the number of feet, into *dipada* (bipeds), *catuppada* (quadrupeds), *chappada* (sexapedes), *satapadī* (centipedes), and the like. They are distinguished also, according to the number of senses possessed by them, into *ekindriya* (those endowed with one sense), *dvi-indriya* (those with two senses), and so on, the maximum number traditionally recognized going up to six.<sup>1</sup> They are distinguished as terrestrial (*thalagocarā*) and aquatic (*jalagocarā*).<sup>2</sup> The snakes are distinguished as *bhujāṅgas* (those moving or crawling on the belly). They are further differentiated as those which are domestic (*ghara, gāma*) and those which are wild (*ārañṇaka*). The ferocious animals are broadly classed as *vālas*. The reptiles are classed as *sarīmsapā*. The beasts pass as *pasavo*, while the insects are denoted by the word *kīṭa-pataṅgā*. A distinction is also drawn between vertebrates (*aṭṭhikā*) and invertebrates (*anattṭhikā*). The harmless beasts and birds are called *apavratlavādhas* in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (II. 26) while the ferocious ones are given the name of '*pravratṭahimsas*'. The beasts and birds associated with hermitages (*āśramavāsikas*) were regarded as *sacrosanct*s (*maṅgalyas*). The animals that were granted by kings the boon of 'no fear' were known as *abhaya-laddhakā miga*.<sup>3</sup> Just as in English the word *deer* denotes either all animals or only antelopes, so does the word *miga* in Pali or *mṛga* in Sanskrit. Beasts and birds (*miga-pakkhi*, Skt. *pakṣi-mṛgā*) is the convenient phrase employed to denote all animals. The Jaina *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* mentions the following kinds of animals: (1) those who are produced from eggs such as birds, (2) from a fetus such as elephants, etc., (3) from a fetus with an enveloping membrane such as cows, buffaloes, etc., (4) from fluids such as worms, etc., (5) from sweat such as bugs, lice, etc., (6) by coagulation such as locusts, ants, etc., (7) from sprouts such as butterflies, wagtails, etc. (Book I. 6. 2).

Among the quadrupeds that are broadly classed as beasts, the lion is recognized as their king, precisely as the golden mallard (*suvaṇṇa haṁsa*) is the king of the birds and as the ānanda (leviathan) is the king of the fishes. Just as Sakka is often represented as *Sakko devānaṃ indo*, Sakka, the king of the gods, so the lion is introduced as *sīho mīgarājā*, lion, the king of deer. In the *Apāṇṇaka Jātaka* (No. 1), the lion and other wild beasts of prey (*sīhādī*) find mention as *vālas* (*vyālas*). In the *Arthaśāstra* (II. 2), they are mentioned as *vyālamṛgāyukāḥ*. The beast of prey next to the lion in strength is the tiger as we find in the phrase—*sīhavyagghā*. The bear and the hyena are similarly grouped together (*accha-taracchā*). Likewise, due

<sup>1</sup> *Dīgha*, i, p. 70; *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, i, p. 182.<sup>3</sup> *Jātaka*, I, 152.<sup>2</sup> *Jātaka*, II, 159.



to their physical likeness, the wolves and jackals (*vaka-bheraṇḍakā*) go together. Like the English vermin, the Pali word *ukkapinḍaka*<sup>1</sup> means such troublesome quadrupeds as 'cats, mice, lizards and mongooses'. The harmless quadrupeds are described as *dāntamrgas* in the *Arthaśāstra* (II. 2). Though the crocodiles belong to the group of lizards, they are classed from their main habitat as aquatic. Though the tortoises are quadrupeds, they are generally grouped with fishes (*macchakacchapā*).

According to the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (Lec. XXXVI), the quadrupeds and reptiles are the two kinds of terrestrial animals. The quadrupeds are of four kinds (179):—

- (1) Solidungular animals such as horses, etc.,
- (2) Biungular animals such as cows, etc.,
- (3) Multiungular animals such as elephants, etc., and
- (4) Animals having toes with nails such as lions, etc. (180; cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, 2, 3, 23).

The same *Sūtra* further points out that the reptiles are of two kinds: (1) those which walk on their arms such as lizards, etc., and (2) those which move on their breasts such as snakes, etc. Both are again of many kinds (181). The animals which possess five organs of senses are of two kinds: those which originate by *generatio æquivoca* and those which are born from the wombs (171). According to the *Sūtrakritāṅga* (2, 3, 26), the winged animals are of four kinds: (1) those with membranous wings, e.g. bats, (2) those with feathered wings, (3) those with wings in the shape of a box—these interesting birds are said to live outside the world inhabited by men, and (4) those which sit on outspread wings (cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Lec. XXXVI, 187).

The *Sūtrakritāṅga* (2, 3, 25) refers to terrestrial animals with five organs of senses, walking on their arms, e.g. iguanas, ichneumons, porcupines, frogs, chameleons, rats, cats, mongooses, scorpions, lizards and other small quadrupeds.

Birds are made to converse pleasantly with men in human language<sup>2</sup> and their cry was understood with ease.<sup>3</sup> There are some birds which cry during the day, e.g. crow, etc., and there are some which cry during the night, e.g. owls, etc.<sup>4</sup> Kakutthakā and Pokkharasātakā are the birds of woods and lakes. Noisy parrots, sweet songs of cuckoos and gentle songs of Myna birds are mentioned in early Buddhist texts.<sup>5</sup> The Himalayan forests are said to have abounded in elephants living in herds or as rogues distinguished as dwarfish (*vāmanikā*), *uccākaḷārakā*, *uccākaṇerukā* and *chaddantā* (six-tusked). They contained horses of diverse breeds. They abounded in reptiles, pythons, snakes, etc. There were watery snakes feeding on green frogs and iguanas. The rivers were full of porpoises, crocodiles and alligators. The rivers and lakes contained fish such as *maggurā* (Indian *Māgura* found in ponds, *bhills* and *khals*), *muñjarohitā*, *pāṭhinā*, and crabs (*kulirakā*). There were many birds such as ruddy-geese<sup>6</sup> (*cascara nūtila*, some call it a brāhmaṇi duck), ducks, golden swans, sweet-voiced cuckoos, cranes, herons, owls, birds of ill omen, crows, doves, pigeons, eagles, vultures, partridges, peacocks, etc. The *supannā* or *garuḍas* dwell in silk cotton trees in the Himalayan region.<sup>7</sup> They possess great strength. They strike snakes with their beaks and split open their bellies. After having eaten the fat, they drop the body.<sup>8</sup> It is a mythical bird. The cry of jackals was understood with ease.<sup>9</sup> There was in Benares a priest who used to understand the language and lamentation of animals.<sup>10</sup> While learning arts at Takḥhasilā, a young man acquired a spell for the understanding of all animals' cries.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vinaya*, I, pp. 211, 239, Aśoka's *Okapiṇḍe*, P.E.V.

<sup>2</sup> *Jāṭaka*, No. 534.

<sup>3</sup> *Papañcasūdani*, I, 121-122.

<sup>4</sup> The eating of its flesh is specially forbidden (*Gautama*, XVII, 28; *Vaśiṣṭha*, XIV, 48).

<sup>5</sup> *Jāṭaka*, No. 543.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 543 and 154.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 482.

<sup>9</sup> *Digha*, III, pp. 201-202.

<sup>10</sup> *Jāṭaka*, No. 482.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 416.



## A. Beasts

*Lion*<sup>1</sup>—dwells in caves on hills (*Jāl.*, Nos. 17, 157). It scans the valleys from the mountain top to see whether there is any elephant, horse or buffalo about or any other animal; it nimbly comes down and slays the beast even if it were a rutting elephant and devours the prime of the carcass (*Jātaka*, Nos. 143, 157, 335). It eats boar (*Ibid.*, No. 153) and is very fond of doe (*Ibid.*, No. 93). It feeds upon raw flesh and blood (*Ibid.*, No. 536). There are four kinds of lions: (1) lion living on grass, (2) black lion, (3) light yellow lion, and (4) lion having a big mane. The lion living on grass is like a cow having the colour of a pigeon. The black lion is like the black cow living on grass. The light yellow lion is like the cow having the colour of a *palāsa* tree living on flesh and the last kind of lion has a very big mane on the shoulder and its face is of the colour of lac and its tail extends up to its feet. The mane is divided into three rows resting on the right side and going along the back.<sup>2</sup> The *Sīhakoṭṭhuka Jātaka* (No. 188) furnishes us with an instance of a cross-breed. A lion had a cub by a she-jackal which mated with it. The cub was just like its sire in toes, claws, mane, colour and figure but in voice it was like its dam. The lion is of a clear, stainless and pure light yellow colour. It has four paws and is rapid in its gait. It has a beautiful coat of hair. It does not bow down before a man. It eats regularly. Wherever its prey falls, it eats whatever it requires and does not want the best morsels of flesh. It is not a storer of what it eats. When it has once eaten its prey, it does not return to it again. If a lion does not get any food, it is not alarmed. If it does, it eats it without craving.<sup>3</sup>

*Tiger*<sup>4</sup>—lives in mountain caves (*Jāl.*, Nos. 17, 492) and eats meat (*Ibid.*, No. 492) and devours men also (*Ibid.*, No. 80). Speckled panther (*Dipī*) is mentioned in the *Jātaka* (No. 510). A female panther conceives only once and does not resort again and again to the male.<sup>5</sup> A male panther lying in ambush in wild places behind a thicket of long grass or brushwood or among the rocks catches the deer. It will never eat the beast it has killed, if it has fallen on the left side.<sup>6</sup>

*Bear* (*Bhalluka* or *Accha*)—makes a meal of ants upon the ant-heap (*Jātaka* No. 490).

*Elephant* (*Mātaṅga*).<sup>7</sup>—The elephant is of two colours: (1) black rock colour (*Jātaka*, No. 463), and (2) white all over (*Ibid.*, No. 455). The *Sīlavanāga Jātaka* (No. 72) records that the white elephant looks like a mighty mass of silver; its eyes are bright like diamond balls; its mouth is red like scarlet cloth; its trunk is like silver flecked with red gold and its four feet are as if polished with lac. Such an elephant is to be found in the Himalayas (cf. *Jātaka*, Nos. 122, 455). Some elephants have six tusks which are like chariot-poles (*Jātaka*, No. 514). With its bulky body, it can climb the mountain, stand on three legs, two fore-legs, two hind legs and one leg also (*Jātaka*, No. 122). It eats grass and leaves (*Jātaka*, No. 409). It frequents cool and limpid pools (*Jātaka*, No. 455). It is fascinated by a favourite lute (*Jātaka*, No. 545). It is faithful, obedient and grateful. It is eager to make itself useful to those who do good to it (*Jātaka*, No. 156). The news of the death of its master is heart-breaking to it and it moans and laments greatly (*Jātaka*, No. 156). But the *Indasamānagotta Jātaka* (*Jātaka*, No. 161) says that when elephants grow up they kill even those who foster them, seize them in their trunks, dash them to the ground and kill them with blows on their heads (*Jātaka*, No. 161). When infuriated the elephant raises its right foot and crushes the enemy, trampling the bones into powder. Then pounding the carcass into a mass, and dunging upon it, the elephant dashes trumpeting into the forest (*Jātaka*, No. 143). The elephant is naturally endowed with the gift of learning well about which it is trained (*Jātaka*, No. 122). It pulls up trees, rolls up with its trunk the logs when chopped by cutters (*Jātaka*, No. 156). It is yoked to carts as a substitute for oxen (*Jātaka*, No. 409). It is

<sup>1</sup> Barua, *Barhut*, III, figs. 4, 13A, 13B and 54; cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XX, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Sāraṭṭhapakāsini*, II, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 400-401.

<sup>4</sup> Barua, *Barhut*, III, figs. 55 and 70.

<sup>5</sup> *Milindapañho*, p. 368.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 369.

<sup>7</sup> *Barhut*, III, figs. 32, 50; cf. *Uvāsagadāsāo* (Lec. I, sec. 51. Ed. Hoernle).



employed as a king's messenger (*Jātaka*, No. 409) and is used for military purposes (*Jātaka*, No. 547). It is trained to stand firm under attack (*Jātaka*, No. 531). In battle it fights with weapons bound on its breast and crushes the enemy (*Jātaka*, No. 409). It is invincible in might and as swift as the wind to guard or strike (*Jātaka*, No. 514). It is employed by king's orders to trample offenders to death (*Jātaka*, No. 31). The *Mahilāmukha Jātaka* (No. 26) says that State-elephants never hurt anybody. According to the *Dummedha Jātaka* (No. 122), the elephant has the power to journey through the air. A well-trained State-elephant flew through the air from Rājagṛha to Benares. Such an elephant is said to bring luck to its possessor (cf. *Jātaka*, No. 547). The *Jātaka* (No. 163) refers to elephant lore (*hastisūtra* or *hastisikkhā*) and elephant festival. Many elephants were set in array, well decorated with golden trappings, golden flags and network of fine gold and the place where this festival was held was decked out (*Jātaka*, No. 163). There is a mention of ten species of elephants without any detail.<sup>1</sup> The Chaddantā is a superior class of elephant noted for ivory.<sup>2</sup> An elephant as it walks about crushes the earth. It turns its whole body when it looks, it looks straight and it does not glance round this way and that way. It has no fixed place of abode. It does not frequent the same spot while seeking its food. It revels in water, plunging into lotus ponds full of clear pure cool water (*Milinda*, p. 398). An elephant lifts up its foot with care and puts it down with care (*Ibid.*, p. 399).

According to the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (2, 7, 52) and the *Aṇḍapātika Sūtra* (Ed. Leumann, sec. 74) Hastitāpasas are named from the fact that every year a big elephant is killed and they live on its flesh for a year or for six months. The *Kalpa-sūtra* (44) mentions fighting elephants (*Samśaktas*).

*Deer.*—Two kinds of deer, red and dappled, are mentioned in the *Jātakas* (No. 547, cf. No. 20). The deer is a beautiful and graceful creature of the colour of gold.<sup>3</sup> It is known as the Dapple deer.<sup>4</sup> Its fore and hind feet are covered with a preparation of lac. Its horns are like a silver wreath, its eyes resemble round jewels, and its mouth is like a ball of crimson wools (*Jātaka*, No. 359; cf. *Jātaka*, Nos. 12 and 482). Its tail is like that of a yak (*Jātaka*, No. 12). It has twice four-hoofs to run (*Jātaka*, No. 15). There is a spotted deer (*paśadā*) in the *Aṇḍāna*.

The deer usually lives near rivers in a clump of sāla trees mixed with fair-flowering mangoes (*Jātaka*, No. 482; cf. *Jātaka*, No. 206). The deer usually eats soft green grass (*Ibid.*, No. 157) from a surfeit of which it is attacked with indigestion and dies (*Ibid.*, No. 372). It devours crops also (*Ibid.*, No. 482).

The deer is clever to clear of arrows. When the shafts come straight at it, it stands still and lets them fly, when they come from behind, it outflies them faster; if they fall from above, it bends the back; if from the side, it swerves a little; if the shafts are aimed at the belly, it rolls right over and when they have gone by, off go the deer swift as a cloud which the wind scatters (*Ibid.*, No. 483).

When a deer gets wounded, it does not fall at once. It spurs on by the force of the arrow, it flees with the blood flowing down and then drops down (*Ibid.*, No. 543; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 12).

The deer employs six tricks to cheat the foes. It takes three postures—on its back or sides. It uses eight hoofs and never slakes its thirst save at midnight. It seems lifeless when it lies couched on earth and breathes only with its under-nostril (*Ibid.*, No. 16; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 15). The deer adopts rouses to escape. On being caught in a snare, the young stag does not struggle but lies down at full length on its side, with its legs stretched out taut and rigid. It paws up the ground round its hoofs so as to shower the grass and the earth about, relieves nature, lets its head fall, lolls out its tongue, beslaughters its body all over, swells itself out by drawing in the wind, turns up its eyes, breathes only with the lower nostril holding its breath with the upper one and makes itself generally so rigid and stiff as to look like a corpse. Even the blue-bottles swarm round it and here and there crows settle. Thinking the stag to be dead, the hunter looses it from its bonds (cf. *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, 2, 2,

<sup>1</sup> *Papañcasudani*, II, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 501.

<sup>2</sup> *Barhut*, III, fig. 128; cf. *Uvāsagadasāo*, I, 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Barhut*, III, figs. 88, 89, etc., *Cittamiga*.



36). While he is thus engaged in making arrangements for cutting the stag, the latter rises to its feet, shakes itself, stretches out its neck and like a little cloud scudding before a mighty wind, runs away (*Ibid.*, No. 16).

In the forest in Magadha there were innumerable deer. Villagers used to shoot and kill them (*Ibid.*, No. 11). Magadha folk used to post themselves in ambush by the road and shoot deer (*Ibid.*, No. 13).

The deer is devoted to its hind (*Ibid.*, No. 418).

The doe is a handsome creature and lives happily and harmoniously with its mate (*Ibid.*, No. 359).

Eni is a kind of antelope. The wind-antelope is very timid. It will never revisit a spot where it has seen a man even for a whole week. If it has once been frightened anywhere, it never goes there again all its life long. It is fond of honey.<sup>1</sup>

A deer frequents the forest by day and spends the night in the open air (*Milinda*, p. 395). When a javelin or an arrow is falling upon a deer, it dodges it and escapes and does not allow its body to remain there. A deer as soon as it sees men escapes this way or that way (*Ibid.*, p. 396).

Mṛga or deer is found in the *Rgveda* (I. 173, 2; VIII, 1, 20, etc.) and later (*Atharvaveda*, IV, 3. 6; X, 1. 26; *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 7. 10; *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 31. 2; VIII, 23. 3, etc.). It is mentioned in the *Carakasamhitā*.<sup>2</sup> Harina, Eṇa, Kālaka, Saṃvara, Ruru, Kadali, Kuraṅga, Citrapṛṣṭa and Kākuli—all these mean mṛga, deer. In the *Jātaka*s (Nos. 535, 545 and 547) various kinds of deer are mentioned: Eṇeyya, Pasāda, Rohita, Sarabha, Camarī, Calanī, Laṅghi, Dipi, Kālakā, Pacālakā, Citrakā, Kadali, Ruru, etc. Kṛṣṇasāramṛga or the black antelope is the best of the deer.<sup>3</sup>

**Boar.**—The boar lives with sows and young pigs in a pit (*Jātaka*, No. 388). Boars usually live in herds. They are not so dull as they appear to be. Young boars grub away the earth from the roots of a tree and the sows bring as much water as their mouths would hold till the tree stands upright bare down to the roots. The strongest of them going down on its knees strikes at the roots with its tusk, cleans through the root it cuts as if with an axe and the tree comes down (*Ibid.*, No. 492).

The boar if reared when young, gets tamed and does the work of a servant. A carpenter's tame boar used to turn over trees with its snout and to bring them to him, used to hitch the measuring line around its tusk, pull it along, fetch and carry adze, chisel and mallet in its teeth (*Ibid.*, No. 492; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 283).

The sow is cowardly. It leaves its children in fear of death (*Ibid.*, No. 388). Big boars have curved tusks (*Ibid.*, No. 283).

Pigs are reared to be eaten by men specially drunkards (*Ibid.*, No. 388). Wild boars are cooked and eaten by men (*Ibid.*, No. 186).

A boar resorts to the water in the sultry and scorching weather of the hot season. It resorting to muddy water digs into the swamp with its nose and making a trough for itself lies down therein (*Milinda*, p. 397).

**Jackal.**—There are he-jackals and she-jackals.<sup>4</sup> There was a cross-breed between a lion and a she-jackal with the result that the cub was just like its father in toes, claws, manes, colour and figure but in voice it was just like its dam.<sup>5</sup> The jackal enjoys the reputation of being the most cunning of all beasts (*Jātaka*, Nos. 113, 128, 129 and 152) but its notorious vileness has made it the meanest of all animals.<sup>6</sup> It dwells in a charnel-grove<sup>7</sup> and eats corpses,<sup>8</sup> dead elephants,<sup>9</sup> shoes,<sup>10</sup> lizards,<sup>11</sup> rats,<sup>12</sup> meat<sup>13</sup> and fish.<sup>14</sup> It likes to eat goat's flesh<sup>15</sup> and to drink liquor<sup>16</sup> and milk-curd.<sup>17</sup> It succumbs when the cat springs at its throat and bites its windpipe

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Athar. Samhitā*, IV, 4. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Jāt.*, No. 188.

<sup>4</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 142; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 490.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 148.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 316.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 113.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 437.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūtra*, XXVII, 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Jāt.*, No. 77.

<sup>6</sup> *Jāt.*, Nos. 152 and 172.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 142 and 416.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 416.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 128.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 400.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 316.



asunder just under the jaw.<sup>1</sup> Its natural timidity is sometimes the cause of its death. Once a lion roared thrice and a jackal was frightened and astounded so much so that its heart burst and it died.<sup>2</sup>

An old male jackal, whatever kind of food it finds, feels no disgust but eats it as much as it requires. It after getting any food does not stop to examine it.<sup>3</sup>

*Monkey.*—*Kapi*, *vānara* and *makkaka* are the three Pali words for apes or monkeys. They are described as semi-human beings in the *Kuṭṭhāsaka Jātaka*:

*Manussass' eva te sissam hatthapādā ca vānara,*

'Thy head, O monkey, hands and feet are like those of man.'

The monkeys usually live in troops in forests.<sup>4</sup> They take their abode in big trees having branches.<sup>5</sup> They also live on or near mountains, e.g. Himalayas.<sup>6</sup> Some of the monkeys are red-faced and some are black-faced.<sup>7</sup> They are very fond of sweet fruits specially mangoes.<sup>8</sup> They eat bread fruits,<sup>9</sup> ripe figs,<sup>10</sup> fruits of the banyan trees,<sup>11</sup> and sweet fruits of the *tiṇḍuka*<sup>12</sup> and *labuṇa* trees.<sup>13</sup> They also eat young shoots.<sup>14</sup> They are adept in jumping high or low from one tree to another.<sup>15</sup> They are mischievous by nature. If they enter into houses, they turn everything upside down, spill water out of the jars, smash the jugs, etc.<sup>16</sup> They are ungrateful to their benefactors and make grimace at them.<sup>17</sup> A monkey by lighting the village with a firebrand caused its chasers to leave it and thus escaped capture and death. This story indicates that monkeys are intelligent but harmful. The monkeys are very dutiful. They look after their parents and provide them with fruits when they get blind and weak for age. They do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives in order to save their parents.<sup>18</sup>

They are fond of the society of female monkeys (*Jātaka*, No. 418). Female monkeys are fond of ornaments and appear to be intelligent for they dexterously outwit the owners by snatching away their possessions when the latter become inattentive (*Ibid.*, No. 92).

The monkeys are trained by snake-charmers to play with snakes (*Ibid.*, No. 365). When tamed they can learn a good deal about the manners of the world of men. They serve their masters faithfully (*Ibid.*, No. 219). The monkey's flesh is eaten by men.<sup>19</sup> A monkey takes its abode in a mighty tree, in a lonely place, covered all over with branches, a sure place of refuge. It wanders about, stands and sits always on trees and if it goes to sleep, spends the night on them (*Milinda*, p. 373).

*Horses.*—Sindh horses are milk-white and thorough-bred (*Jātaka*, Nos. 22, 23, 160, 211, 529, 547 and 538). They are white as lilies, swift as the wind and well-trained (*Ibid.*, Nos. 544, 266 and 547). Horses like to eat pears (*Ibid.*, 176). Thorough-bred horses are fed on parched rice drippings, broken meats and grass and red rice-powder (*Ibid.*, No. 254). There are big chestnut horses.<sup>20</sup> Horses are fierce (*Ibid.*, No. 115). When they become rogue they bite quiet horses but when two rogues meet, they lick each other's body (*Ibid.*, No. 158). The horse can also imitate men. A horse watching its lame trainer as he tramped on and on in front, imitated him and limped too.<sup>21</sup> A thorough-bred war-horse will not bathe in the same place where an ordinary horse took its bath (*Ibid.*, No. 25). Horses were employed for drawing State-chariots (*Ibid.*, No. 22) and cars (*Ibid.*, No. 211). Thorough-bred Sindh horses sheathed in mail were used for war purposes (*Ibid.*, No. 23; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 547). The Valāha and Sindhu are the horses of superior breed.<sup>22</sup>

There was a trade in horses (*Jātaka*, Nos. 4 and 5). There were valuers employed by kings to fix the proper price of horses, elephants and the like (*Ibid.*, No. 5).

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 298.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 57.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 177.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 92.

<sup>7</sup> *Putā-Bhatta Jātaka*, No. 222.

<sup>8</sup> *Mahābodhi Jātaka*, No. 528—the Veddās of Ceylon are inordinately fond of monkey's flesh.

<sup>9</sup> *Suhamu Jātaka*, No. 158.

<sup>10</sup> *Barhut*, III, Pl. XXVI, fig. 136.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 152.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 92.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 407; cf. *Jāt.*, Nos. 316, 57 and 208.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 208 and 298.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 208.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 175.

<sup>17</sup> *Milinda*, p. 395.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 58.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 298.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 46.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 174.

<sup>22</sup> *Giridanta Jātaka*, No. 184.



Good horses used to fetch high prices. A high-bred foal was sold at Benares at a high price, separate price was paid for the foal's four feet, for its tail, for its head—six purses of a thousand pieces of money, one for each (*Ibid.*, No. 254). This horse could run at such a speed that nobody could see it at all. It could run over a pond without getting its hoofs wet, and gallop over lotus leaves without even pushing one of them under water (*Ibid.*, No. 254).

There was a flying horse, white all over and beaked like a crow, with hair like *muñja* grass, possessed of supernatural power, able to fly through the air. From Himalaya it flew through the air until it came to Ceylon. It carried 250 men at a time.<sup>1</sup>

*Ass.*—An ass wherever it lies down, whether on a dust-heap or in the open space where four roads meet or three or at the entrance to a village or on a heap of straw, nowhere it is given to resting long.<sup>2</sup> Donkeys are employed by merchants to carry merchandise (*Jātaka*, No. 189).

*Dog.*—The dog eats meat and fish, bones, skin and refuse of kitchen (*Jātaka*, No. 546). It is fierce by nature (*Ibid.*, No. 115). There are thorough-bred dogs. Packs of clever pedigree hounds were employed by kings in their hunting expedition to kill deer and pigs. These thorough-bred dogs were so well trained and knew their work so well that they could understand the purport of signs, a glance to them and a snap of fingers, and they would creep into the underwood and crouch down on their bellies.<sup>3</sup> A well-bred tawny hound overhearing the conversation between the king and the queen at night thought of saving the life of a mendicant. When the mendicant came, as usual, the next morning to the palace door, the hound seeing him opened its mouth and showed its four big teeth and thought, 'Why, holy Sir, do you not seek your alms elsewhere in India? Our king has posted five councillors armed with swords inside the door to slay you. Do not come accepting death as your fate, but be off with all speed,' and it gave a loud bark. From his knowledge of the meaning of all sounds, the mendicant understood the matter and left the place (*Jātaka*, No. 528).

*Ram.*—A ram has eight half-feet on its four feet and eight hooves (*Ibid.*, No. 546). It has twisted horns also (*Ibid.*, No. 546). When gets fierce, it can butt a person with such violence as to break his leg (*Ibid.*, No. 115).

*Goat.*—The goat eats grass (*Ibid.*, No. 546) and rice (*Ibid.*, No. 404). A she-goat conceiving an affection for an abandoned baby and after giving it milk to suck, wandered off for a bit and then came back twice, thrice, or even four times and gave it such. Goats are eaten by men (*Ibid.*, No. 41) and slaughtered in honour of gods during festivals (*Ibid.*, No. 50).

*Ox.*—The ox eats straw and grass (*Ibid.*, Nos. 30 and 546) and takes rice and rice-gruel (*Ibid.*, Nos. 28 and 29). It is fed on sesame flour and kidney beans (*Ibid.*, No. 546). Oxen are yoked to carts used by caravan merchants in their journey from one country to another even through deserts (*Ibid.*, No. 1). Thorough-bred bulls were hired at 2 coins per cart or thousand coins in all for pulling a large number of wagons across the river.<sup>4</sup> The bull<sup>5</sup> tosses the earth with its horns in sport (*Ibid.*, No. 490). When gets frightened, the cow gives but little milk (*Ibid.*, No. 93). A bull never forsakes its own shelter. When it has once taken its yoke upon it, it bears that yoke through all conditions of ease or pain.<sup>6</sup> It drinks water with never satiated desire. It equally bears the yoke whoever puts it.<sup>7</sup>

*Rabbit.*—The rabbit eats soft green grass.<sup>8</sup>

*Cat.*—The cat is very crafty and eats cocks.<sup>9</sup> In frequenting caves and holes and the inner portions of dwelling houses, it is in search after rats. It always crouches down in pursuing its prey.<sup>10</sup>

*Otter.*—The otter eats fish.<sup>11</sup> It has a long body, webbed feet and brown short fur, chiefly living on fish.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Valāhassa Jātaka*, No. 196.

<sup>2</sup> *Kukkura Jātaka*, Nos. 22 and 504.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, Lec. XXVII, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 157.

<sup>5</sup> *Jātaka*, Nos. 316 and 400.

<sup>6</sup> *Milinda*, p. 366.

<sup>7</sup> *Kaṇha Jātaka*, No. 29.

<sup>8</sup> *Milinda*, p. 396.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 383.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>11</sup> *Milinda*, p. 393.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 316—an aquatic carnivore.



*Rat*.—The rat eats rice<sup>1</sup> and the mouse gnaws clothes.<sup>2</sup> A rat wandering about backwards and forwards is always after food.<sup>3</sup>

*Squirrel*.—A squirrel when attacked by its enemy beats its tail on the ground till it swells and then with its own tail as a cudgel drives off the enemy.<sup>4</sup>

*Iguana*.—It dwells in burrows and eats ants.<sup>5</sup>

*Lizard*.—The lizard lives in ant-hills, eats ants, and is eaten by village folks with vinegar and sugar.<sup>6</sup> Roasted lizard is eaten by men,<sup>7</sup> as lizard flesh is savoury.<sup>8</sup> Chameleon is a small lizard which never grows bigger. It is famous for changing its colour.<sup>9</sup>

*Mongoose*.—It lives in an ant-heap.<sup>10</sup> A mongoose when attacking a snake only does so when it has covered its body with an antidote.<sup>11</sup>

*Frog*.—Mention is made of green frogs at Benares.<sup>12</sup>

## B. Birds.

*Partridge*.—is easily trained and employed to decoy others of its kind.<sup>13</sup> It is killed, roasted and eaten by men.<sup>14</sup> The Jaina *Uvāsagadasāo* refers to black and grey partridges (7th Aṅga, VII, 219—*Kaṇha and gaura titiyār*).

*Dindibha*.—It is most probably a partridge. A fowler caught a decoy partridge and trained it. When it was brought to a wood, its cry decoyed all the other partridges that came near it. It is the same as *Ṭiṭṭibha* or *Ṭitira*.<sup>15</sup> *Jiva-Jiva* is a kind of bird which cries thus 'You live, You live' (*Jivam Jivaka*)<sup>16</sup>—an onomatopoeic cry.

*Pigeon* (*Pārevata*)<sup>17</sup>—pecks up grass seeds (*Jātaka*, No. 42). It is content with little (*Ibid.*, No. 490). There is a kind of pigeon known as the wood-pigeon which lives in a clump made of bamboos. It loves its mate very much and cannot tolerate its separation from the mate. Once a hawk pounced on the mate and carried it off, killed it in the midst of its cries and devoured it. At this the wood-pigeon was sorely cut up with grief and felt a pang in everything it saw.<sup>18</sup> A house pigeon while dwelling in the abode of men does not become enamoured of anything that belongs to them but remains neutral taking notice only of things pertaining to birds (*Milinda*, p. 403).

*Parrot* (*Sukha-sāri*)—is fond of choice rice (*Jātaka*, No. 73; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 512), sweet parched corn (*Ibid.*, Nos. 73 and 329), likes honey and drinks sugar-water (*Ibid.*, No. 329). It prefers to eat figs (*Ibid.*, No. 429). It is handsome and strong (*Ibid.*, No. 484). It flies with great swiftness (*Ibid.*, No. 255). But it cannot fly in heavy rains (*Ibid.*, No. 73). When it grows old, it is the eye that weakens first (*Ibid.*, No. 255). Its former habitat was on the seaward side of the Himalayas.<sup>19</sup>

The parrots are instinctively dutiful to their parents, children and other disabled birds. They fly to the Himalayas and after eating their fill of the clumps of rice that grow wild there, they return with food sufficient for their parents and feed them with it. They feed young ones whose wings are still ungrown, and birds of helpless wings, and weak.<sup>20</sup> Many of them live in the Himalaya country on the banks of the Ganges.<sup>21</sup> They are easily tamed. They can easily imitate the human voice. The two parrots born of the same mother and reared together in the same tree but being separated under vicissitudes of circumstances, fed in different pastures, imbibed the spirit and contracted the habit of those with whom they used to keep

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 333.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 165.

<sup>12</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 239; *Barhut*, III, fig. 117.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 512; cf. No. 438.

<sup>16</sup> *Digha*, III, pp. 201-202—*Aṭṭhāṇṇiya Suttanta*. According to some it is a kind of pheasant or partridge. Cf. *Jain Bhagavati* (Weber), pp. 289 and 290.

<sup>17</sup> *Barhut*, III, fig. 94; cf. *Uvāsagadasāo* (7th Aṅga, VII, 219)—*Kavaya, Pārevā*.

<sup>18</sup> *Pañca-Uposatha Jātaka*, No. 490.

<sup>20</sup> *Sālikedāra Jātaka*, No. 484.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 87.

<sup>5</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 141.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 325.

<sup>11</sup> *Milinda*, p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> *Milinda*, p. 393.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 138.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 141.

<sup>13</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 319.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 319.

<sup>19</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 255; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 429.

<sup>21</sup> *Mahāsuka Jātaka*, No. 429.



company. The parrot which lived in the company of 500 robbers used to exhibit its evil propensities and the other enjoying the company of 500 sages grew wise and spoke courteously (*Jātaka*, No. 503). The parrots are clever and serve as messengers (*Ibid.*, No. 546). They are so trained as to bring news from far off countries (*Ibid.*, No. 127).

*Maynah*—takes honey-corn and honey-water. It is sweet-voiced. It is a very wise bird which can understand and repeat verbatim what it hears (*Ibid.*, No. 546). It is useful.

*Kālakanṇikā*—is a bird of evil omen. It is the same as Sakuni.<sup>1</sup>

*Cuckoo*—is in the habit of laying eggs in the crow's nest. The eggs of the cuckoo and crow being similar, they are hatched by the latter. When a young cuckoo comes forth from the egg, the female crow thinking it to be her own offspring takes care of it and brings food for it in its beak (*Ibid.*, No. 331). The cuckoo has a very sweet voice (*Ibid.*, No. 536). It eats ripe mango by striking it with its beaks and tastes the sweet juice. It then flaps its wings and begins to roll and sing songs.<sup>2</sup> *Kokilā* or *Karavikā* are sweet-voiced birds (*Madhurassarā*). Indian cuckoo is of two kinds: black (*Kāla*) and black spotted (*Phussa*).<sup>3</sup> *Parābhūta*, *Celāvaka* and *Bhīmkāra* are the three kinds of Indian cuckoos.

*Kuṇāla* is a kind of cuckoo which has variegated wings (*cittapattacchadano*). It is always surrounded by several mates (*Jātaka*, V, pp. 406 and 417).

*Owl*—has the misfortune of being pecked by the crow with its beaks (*Ibid.*, No. 226). It always takes shelter in a thicket of bamboos and frequently hides itself in it. The owl being at enmity with the crows goes at night to the flocks of crows and kills many of them. It is a solitary bird (*Milinda*, p. 403).

*Crow*—is greedy (*Jātaka*, No. 42). It drinks milk, takes strong drink, eats rice, fish and meat (*Ibid.*, Nos. 146, 42, 434). It eats birds (*Ibid.*, No. 384), dead fish, carcasses of elephants and other animals, wild fruits, salt and oil (*Ibid.*, Nos. 394, 434). It eats things in the village soured with salt and oil, clean rice and meat in fear and fright (*Ibid.*, No. 451). The crow feels faint in each of the three night-watches, but if it eats a lamp-wick, its hunger is appeased for the moment (*Ibid.*, No. 42). When one crow dies, all others begin with one voice to lament (*Ibid.*, No. 146). The crow is in the habit of pecking the owl with its beaks (*Ibid.*, No. 226). It cannot distinguish the egg of the cuckoo from its own and hatches it. When a young cuckoo comes forth from the egg, it takes care of it and feeds it. But if the young bird, while still unfledged, utters a cuckoo cry prematurely, it is pecked to death by the crow with its beak and thrown out of the nest (*Ibid.*, No. 331).

*Disākāka* crow kept on boat ship in order to search for land.<sup>4</sup> The Marsh crow belongs to a group of such crows as are born to go into water and catch fish. It lives by the pools and eats plenty of fish (*Ibid.*, No. 204). A crow goes about full of apprehension and suspicion, always on watch and guard (*Milinda*, pp. 372-3). A crow whatever food it catches sight of eats it sharing with its relatives (*Ibid.*, p. 373).

*Cock* (*Tambacūḷaka*)—has spurs and the crest. It crows thrice, i.e., when it grows it gives forth clearly three notes, one short, one middling and one long (*Jātaka*, No. 546). Cocks living in human habitation acquire knowledge of times and seasons and usually crow at dawn; but those in fields and cemetery far away from human association, crow casually at midnight as well as daybreak and have no knowledge of times and seasons. They are kept in coops (*Ibid.*, No. 119). They are killed, roasted and eaten by men (*Ibid.*, No. 512). Hens after stretching their wings take their seats on their eggs and keep them warm. The eggs are then properly hatched and they then transmit their own character into them. At first the head comes into existence and then grow the feet, nails, wings, face, etc. Thus the eggs become mature. On account of the thinness of the shells, light penetrates into them. Then the chickens try to come out of the shells by giving out their necks and striking

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 206.

<sup>3</sup> *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Papañcasudani*, III, 382-383.

<sup>4</sup> *Jātaka*, III, 126, 267.



their heads with the legs and thus they come out.<sup>1</sup> Wild hens live in groves of bamboo trees. They are eaten by falcons (*Ibid.*, No. 448).

A cock goes early and betimes to roost. It is unremitting in scratching the earth to pick up what it can find to eat (*Milinda*, p. 366). Though it has eyes, it is blind by night (*Ibid.*, p. 367). Even though persecuted with clods, sticks, clubs, and cudgels it will not desert its home (*Ibid.*, p. 367).

*Peacock* (Mora).<sup>2</sup>—The egg laid by the peahen is of golden colour. When it is ripe, it cracks of its own force, and issues forth a peachick of the colour of gold, with two eyes like the *guñja* fruit, and a coral beak, and three red streaks round its throat and down the middle of its back. When it grows up, its body is very fine to behold. Its neck is of purple colour (*Ibid.*, No. 547) and jewelled sheen like *lapis lazuli* (*Ibid.*, No. 32). Its tail is of varied hue and its outstretched feathers reach a fathom's length (*Ibid.*, No. 32). Peacocks get sick with lust, when they hear peahen's cry (*Ibid.*, No. 491). So peahens are used as baits to ensnare peacocks. Peahens are trained to scream at the snapping of fingers and to dance at the clapping of hands (*Ibid.*, Nos. 491, 339, 159). Egg-born peacocks dance, spring, and spread their gorgeous wings before peahens (*Ibid.*, No. 547). There are peacocks with rare plumage,<sup>3</sup> and with blue-coloured neck.<sup>4</sup> The word '*mayura*' or peacock occurs in the *R̥gveda*.<sup>5</sup> According to Śuśruta peacock's flesh should always be taken. It strengthens voice, mental vigour, appetite, and organs of eye and ear. It is oily and hot. It removes winds and produces sexual vigour and increases perspiration, voice and strength.<sup>6</sup>

*Kurara*—is the sea-eagle.

*Kukutthā*—is the *Phasianus gallus*.

*Goose*—is of different kinds: (1) grass-goose, (2) yellow-goose, (3) scarlet-goose, (4) white-goose, (5) Pāka-goose, and (6) golden-goose. The Pāka-geese are very beautiful birds (*Jātaka*, No. 534). The goose has its neck encircled with three stripes of red. Three lines running down the throat pass along the middle of the belly, while other three stripes run down and mark off the back, and its body shines like a mass of gold poised on a string made of the thread of red wool (*Ibid.*, No. 534). It does not stir out for four months in the rainy season. If it does so, its wings being full of water, it would be unable to take a long flight and would fall into the sea. When the rainy season is drawing near, it gathers wild paddy from a natural lake.<sup>7</sup> A son born to goose paired with a crow is not like its father or mother, in appearance, all dingy blue-black (*Ibid.*, No. 160). Ruddy-geese (*Cakkavāka*—*Anas casarca*—*Barhut*, Pl. XXXIX) do not eat aquatic animals, nor anything lying in the wood. They eat all kinds of weed. They are of fine red colour, fair of form and plump in body. They have no trouble and fear nothing from enemies (*Ibid.*, No. 451). Young geese flew about inhabiting in large numbers on the top of the Citrakūṭa mountain in search of their habitat.<sup>8</sup> Hamsa is the ordinary swan.<sup>9</sup> There are golden swans<sup>10</sup> and sun swans (*ravi-hamsā*). This bird never forsakes its mate even to the close of its life. It feeds on water plants called *sevāla* and *panaka*. It does not do any harm to any living thing.<sup>11</sup>

*Penāhikā* bird through jealousy of its mate refuses to nourish its young (*chāpake*). This bird spends the day in the forest in search of food but at night time resorts for protection to the flock of birds to which it belongs.<sup>12</sup>

*Mallard*—is the common duck in its wild state. It is of magnificent size and golden plumage. If the feathers are plucked against its wish, they cease to be golden and become like the crane's feathers (*Jātaka*, No. 136).

*Quail*—lives on rude grass and seeds (*Ibid.*, No. 394). The natural instinct of saving its life displayed by it is wonderful. When caught and caged, it refuses to take food and thereby reduces itself to skeleton, and when fowlers convinced of its

<sup>1</sup> *Papañcasudānī*, pt. II, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 535.

<sup>5</sup> III, 45. 1; VIII, 1. 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Jātaka*, Nos. 534, 537.

<sup>9</sup> *Barhut*, III, fig. 107.

<sup>11</sup> *Milinda*, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> *Barhut*, III, fig. 91.

<sup>4</sup> *Jātaka* (Fausböll), VI, p. 497.

<sup>6</sup> *Suśruta Sūtra*, XLVI.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Jātakas*, Nos. 187, 370 and 429.

<sup>10</sup> *Vimānavatthu Commy.*, p. 57.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.



physical incapability to fly away, are off their guard, they are invariably outwitted by the alertness of the bird escaping from their hands (*Ibid.*, No. 118). It is purchased from fowlers who succeed in ensnaring it, and is eaten by men (*Ibid.*, No. 33). There is a mention of grey quail (vattaya) in the Jain *Uvāsagadasāo* (7th Aṅga, VII, 219) which also refers to bush quail (*lāvaya*).

*Heron* (Koñca) <sup>1</sup>—may be trained to carry messages from one person to another. It would never put up with the wrong done to its offspring and would wreak vengeance on its enemy (*Ibid.*, No. 343).

*Crane*—lives on fish and crab (*Ibid.*, No. 38). When it desires to eat fish, it droops its head, spreads out its wings, looks vacantly at the fish waiting till they are off their guard (*Ibid.*, No. 236). *Sārasa* or crane is a synonym of *koñca* (*Vimānavatthu Commy.*, p. 57). There is a kind of crane called tufted crane. Cranes are conceived at the sound of thunder, hence thunder is called their father and the thunder-cloud their grandfather (*Jātaka*, No. 274). *Pokkharasālakā* is a species of crane, *Ardea siberica*. The Indian crane (*satapatta*) by its cry makes known to the people the good fortune or disaster that is about to happen to them (*Milinda*, p. 404).

The Jaina *Kalpasūtra* (42) refers to cranes among other birds such as swans, ducks, cakravākas.

*Osprey*—can dive into water (*Ibid.*, No. 486).

*Falcon*—eats hen (*Ibid.*, No. 448) and quail (*Ibid.*, No. 168).

*Wood-pecker* (*Satapatta*) <sup>2</sup>—lives in a wood of acacia trees. It pecks at the tree-trunks until insects come out and eat them (*Jātaka*, No. 210). It perches at the top of trees (*Ibid.*, No. 206).

*Hawk*—lives with family in a nest on a Kadamba tree (*Ibid.*, No. 486). It is fierce in its nature.<sup>3</sup> It frequents the slaughter house.<sup>4</sup>

*Vultures*—may be black or brown (*Ibid.*, No. 530). They eat flesh of cows and the like in cemeteries (*Ibid.*, No. 399). They can fly very high (*Ibid.*, No. 381). They repay with gratitude the services rendered to them by their saviours (*Ibid.*, No. 164).

*Bat*.—A bat when it enters into the dwelling places of men soon goes out of them and does not make any delay. It does no harm to men (*Milinda*, p. 404).

*Mayhaka* bird lives in a mountain cave and it rests on peepul trees.<sup>5</sup> Mine! mine! it cries thus.

*Cirīṭikā*—is a little bird.<sup>6</sup>

#### C. Insects.

*White Ant*.—A white ant goes on with its work only when it has made a roof over itself and has covered itself up.<sup>7</sup>

*Scorpion*.—A scorpion, whose tail is its weapon, keeps its tail erect as it wanders about.<sup>8</sup>

*Leech* (*Jalūka*).—A leech wherever it is put on, there it adheres firmly, sucking the blood.<sup>9</sup>

*Roadspider*.—A roadspider weaves the curtain of its net on the road and whatsoever is caught therein whether worm or fly or beetle, that it catches and eats.<sup>10</sup>

The *Kalpasūtra* (37) mentions different kinds of bees: *Shaṭpada*, *Madhukari* and *Bhramara*. The *Shaṭpadas* are six-footed bees.

#### D. Aquatic animals.

According to the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (XXXVI, 173) fishes, tortoises, crocodiles and Gangetic tortoises are the aquatic animals.

*Crabs* (*Kulirakā*).—Crabs live in pools. They have projecting eyes, pincerlike claws, hairless, clad in bony shell. They do not eat the flesh of crows or snakes

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 506.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Jātaka*, No. 168.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 390.

<sup>7</sup> *Milinda*, p. 392.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> *Barhut*, III, fig. 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 546.

<sup>6</sup> *Charak Saṃhitā*, I, 27, 26; *Jātaka*, No. 526.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 394.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.



which they can kill with their claws.<sup>1</sup> Golden crab is mentioned in the Jātaka (No. 267) especially living in the place called the crab-tarn.<sup>2</sup>

*Fish.*—Fish is of various kinds, e.g., *pike* (a large fresh-water fish), *bream* (a small yellowish fresh-water fish), *moach* (a common fresh-water fish), *carp*, etc. The fish named are *pāvusa*, *vālaja*, *muñjarohita* (*Cyprinus Rohita*, Ruhi fish in Bengal) and *pāthina* (*Silurus Boalis*).<sup>3</sup> Fish lives in ponds, tanks and lakes. When these dry up, it buries itself in mud but it is devoured by crows and hawks.<sup>4</sup> Fish knows by instinct when the year will be rainy and when there will be drought.<sup>5</sup> Fish is used in festivals and sacrifices to ogres.<sup>6</sup> It is caught with nets, basket-traps, tackles, etc. It dodges round the net, splashes in the water in front of it and then doubling back splashes about behind it. This causes fishermen to think that the fishes have broken the net and all have escaped, so they pull the net in by one corner and thus the fishes escape from the net into the open water again.<sup>7</sup> Timi fish is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions as *timingila*<sup>8</sup> which lives in the great ocean as mentioned in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*.<sup>9</sup> *Vohāra* or monster fish is mentioned in a Jātaka (No. 529).

*Tortoise.*—The tortoise lives in ponds, tanks and lakes. When these are dried up, it buries itself in the mud, but it is picked up by hawks with their lance-like beaks and is devoured.<sup>10</sup> It has got sharp teeth with which it can gnaw a snare made of leather.<sup>11</sup> It is so lazy that though it is in motion all day, it only moves just an inch or two.<sup>12</sup> It seems to be physically strong. A tortoise was tied with strings and creepers but it could not be rolled over. It lugged men along with it and plunged in deep water.<sup>13</sup> The tortoise like the fish knows by instinct when the year will be rainy and when there will be drought.<sup>14</sup> Tortoise is eaten by men.<sup>15</sup> A tortoise which is a water animal keeps to the water. While swimming on the water it raises its head and when it catches sight of anyone it at once sinks and dives into the depths lest it should be seen again.<sup>16</sup> A tortoise gets up out of the water and suns itself. It digging a hole in the ground dwells alone. While on its rounds it sees anyone or hears a sound, it draws in at once all its head and limbs into its shell, and hiding them there keeps in silence to save itself.<sup>17</sup> *Land Tortoise* (*Cittakadharakumma*) is afraid of water and frequents places far from it. Its length of life is kept undiminished by its habit of avoiding water.<sup>18</sup> *Duḍi* means a small female tortoise.

*Crocodile.*<sup>19</sup>—The crocodile dwells in the Ganges<sup>20</sup> and eats fish.<sup>21</sup> When it opens its mouth, its eyes shut.<sup>22</sup> It prefers to eat monkey's heart.<sup>23</sup> The *sumsumāra* (Ghariwal) and *Kumbhila* (alligator) are mentioned as two varieties of crocodiles.

*Snakes.*—There are four royal races of snakes, viz., *Virūpakka*, *Erāpatha*, *Chabbyaputta* and *Kaṇhāgotama*.<sup>24</sup> These snakes have not been identified. *Ajagarā* is also known as *Ajagara* (Boa constrictor). According to the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (2, 3, 24) this serpent devours goats. Different snakes have diverse shapes, e.g., body as white as a coil of pure silver, head like a ball of red wool, body as thick as a plough-head, body as thick as a thigh, body as big round as a trough-canoe with

<sup>1</sup> Jātaka, No. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jātaka, No. 389.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., No. 451.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., No. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., No. 178.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., No. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., No. 114.

<sup>8</sup> Barhut, III, fig. 85.

<sup>9</sup> Pt. II, 487; cf. Barhut Inscriptions, p. 61 (Barua and Sinha).

<sup>10</sup> Jātaka, No. 75.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., No. 206.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., No. 345.

<sup>13</sup> Mahā-ukkhusa Jātaka, No. 486.

<sup>14</sup> Jātaka, No. 178. The cowherds could make a forecast of the rainfall. If the birds were seen building their nests on tree-tops and the crabs closing the door of their hole near the water and using the door near the land, they took it to be the sign for a good rainfall, and if the birds were seen building their nests in a low place and the crabs closing the door of their hole near the land and using the door near the water, they took it to be a sign for drought. *Paramatthajotikā* on the *Suttanipāta*, II, p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> Jātaka, No. 178.

<sup>16</sup> Milinda, p. 370.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 371.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 408.

<sup>19</sup> Sumsumāra-Kumbhilā, Barhut, III, fig. 77.

<sup>20</sup> Jātaka, No. 206.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., No. 233.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., No. 57.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., No. 57.

<sup>24</sup> *Khandha-vala Jātaka*, No. 203; cf. *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta*, *Digha*.



an outrigger.<sup>1</sup> The tail of the male snake is thick, that of the female is thin, the male snake's head is thick, and that of the female long; the eyes of the male are big, of the female small; the head of the male is rounded, that of the female cut short. By those signs the male snakes are distinguished from females.<sup>2</sup> The snake is armed with strong fangs and poison quick and sure.<sup>3</sup>

The snake dwells in a hollow tree<sup>4</sup> coiling, belly-crawling.<sup>5</sup> It is also seen issuing forth from an ant-hill.<sup>6</sup> The viper usually lives in forest.<sup>7</sup>

The snake likes honey, sweet parched corn and takes frogs.<sup>8</sup>

The snakes are trained by snake-charmers to play with monkeys.<sup>9</sup> The cobra when tamed by snake-charmers behaves well; <sup>10</sup> when a snake gets angry and sends forth the breath of its nostrils, the body of a man whom the breath touches gets shattered and scattered like a fistful of chaff. The poison is powerful.<sup>11</sup> Once a snake was terrified at the noise of the bull's hooves, and darted forward to hide in the ant-hill. The bull happened to tread on it, whereupon the snake was angry, and bit the bull, and the bull died then and there.<sup>12</sup> Snakes sometimes take back their poison. A black snake living in an ant-hill bit a Brahmin in the flesh of the calf and the Brahmin fell on the ground, and when it took away the poison the Brahmin stood up well being free from poison. The viper is venomous and is not tamed. It can never be trusted.<sup>13</sup> A scotched snake is fierce and cruel.<sup>14</sup> Mahoraga is a very big snake one thousand yojanas in length (*Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, 2, 3, 24).

To defend themselves against Garuḍas, snakes make themselves heavy by swallowing very big stones and lie down, and when the Garuḍas come, they open their mouths wide and show their teeth and fall upon them. They come on and seize the snakes by the head and while they try to lift up the snakes (heavy as the snakes are) from the ground, the water streams from them and they drop down dead in the midst of it. In this way a number of Garuḍas perish.<sup>15</sup>

The snake's flesh is eaten by men.<sup>16</sup> A serpent moves about by means of its belly. It moves about avoiding drugs. It is pained and seeks a way of escape as soon as it sees men.<sup>17</sup> Ajagara (rocksnake) has an immense body. It lives with empty belly for a long time. It can manage to keep itself alive if it does not get any food to fill its stomach.<sup>18</sup>

## MISCELLANEA

### NRPATI-PARIVRĀJAKA AND RAVĀL

In his learned note on the term *Nṛpati-parivrājaka* contributed to the *Indian Culture*, IX, pp. 226f., Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the following story about the originator of the rulers of Jaisalmer found in *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*:—

'The *jogi* was well aware of the thief whom he now came to visit; and he confirmed him in the possession of the stolen property, on one condition, that he should become his *chela* and disciple and, as a token of submission and fidelity, adopt the external symbols of the *jogi*. Deoraj assented and was invested with the *jogi* robe of ochre. He placed the *moodra* in his ear, the little horn round his neck, and the bandage (*langota*) about his loins; and with the gourd exclaiming, *Aluc! Aluc!* The gourd was filled with gold and pearls; the title of *Rao* was abandoned for that of *Rawul*;

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 506.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 165.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 43.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 86.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 43.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 524.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 546.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 490.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 73, 506 and 543.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 506; cf. No. 55.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 73.

<sup>17</sup> *Milinda*, pp. 405-406.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 490.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 389 and 481.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 249.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 490.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 518.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406.



the *teeka* was made on his forehead; and exacting a pledge that these rites of inauguration should be continued to the latest posterity, the Baba Ritta (for such was the *jogī's* name) disappeared' (Lahiri & Co. Edition, II, pp. 228-29).

According to Dr. Bhandarkar, the above quotation explains how Suśarman could be a *parivrājaka* and a *nṛpati*, even though his descendants were not styled *parivrājakas* as was the case with the rulers of Jaisalmer who are still called *Rāvals*.

I have not much to say regarding Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of *Nṛpati-parivrājaka* which I, personally, regard as a rather inexact synonym of the more usual term *rājarṣi*. Janaka was a *rājarṣi*, even though he was a ruler. The late Mahārājā of Alwar too had this title; the college at Alwar is still known as Rāj-rishi College. My special disagreement with him is, however, about the interpretation of the word *Rāval* which he, following the lead of Tod, seems to regard as almost synonymous with *parivrājaka*. Actually, *Rāval* is merely a Prakrit form of the word *Rājakula* which Dr. Bhandarkar would find used for the Chauhān rulers of Jālor in their inscriptions as well as the Jain chronicles of Gujarat,<sup>1</sup> even though these rulers never claimed to be the descendants of a *jogī*. The *Kāṇhaḍadeprabandha*, an old Rājasthani work composed in V. 1512 (1455 A.D.), actually uses the word *Rāval* for Kanhadade:—

*Rāula bhaṇai'vira aphaṇai āpaṇapū ma vakhāṇi*  
*ju purukhāratha kari dākhavai, tu sahūko ima jāṇi* (I, 128).

In modern Marwari too *Rāvalā* means *Rājakula*. We often use the phrase '*rāvale rī chākri*' in the sense of 'the service of the royal household'. His Highness of Dungarpur is a Maharaval. In the Bikaner State, we have *Mahārāos* and *Mahārāvals* among the hereditary servants of the State without any tradition whatsoever about the latter being the descendants of *jogīs*.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

## ON THE VALIDITY OF SMṚTI CANONS

The orthodox view regards the Vedas as the ultimate source of religion and time-honoured customs and practices. This is not merely a fancy and expression of blind faith. Prof. Kane has already collected Vedic passages to which can be traced the origin of later customs. Jaimini who has established the self-authoritativeness of the Śrutis seeks to uphold the authority of the Smṛtis on the basis of their being grounded on Vedic injunctions. It would be interesting as well as instructive to study and to critically follow the illuminating discourse of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa on this problem raised by Śabara. It is an intellectual treat which Kumārila provides by his discussion of the relevant problems in this connection, which has in its turn exercised a far-reaching influence on the development of the subtle speculations of the later writers on Smṛti. He has dwelt upon the relative position of Smṛti and the codes of other heterodox systems with reference to the Śruti and propounds the criterion of true religion as distinguished from the heterodox faiths and practices.

The traditional law codes of Manu, etc. are not self-authoritative like the Śruti since they derive their authority from the latter. The codes of Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc. are termed Smṛtis or recollections, being recollections of the truths embedded in the Śruti. The term Smṛti was advisedly applied to the law codes by the earliest Shāstrakāras. For the law codes stand in the same relation to the Vedic literature as our ordinary recollections do to the direct and perceptual cognitions. According to the Mīmāṃsists of both Prābhākara and Bhāṭṭa schools, the perceptual knowledge alone can be true and valid in its own right and the

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 602, 605, 609, 621, 622, 629, 640. The word *Rājakula* in Samarasimha's Jālor inscription of V. 1239, though rendered as 'the royal family' by the Editor, actually means 'Rāval'. Kīrtipāla's father Ālhaṇa is called 'Rājakula' in his plates of V. 1218 (*EI.*, IX, p. 69). Samarasimha's son Udayasimha is called 'Rājakula' in the *Prabandhaśoṣa*, p. 125 (Singhi Jain Series). The *Nirbhayabhīmavyāyoga* uses the word *Mahārājakula* for the ruler of Jālor.



recollection is merely a reproduction of the original intuition. Viewed in this context the codes of law can have no independent validity. The Vedas as the fountain-head of true knowledge were revealed to the seers who by virtue of their spiritual elevation and superhuman powers, which the later authors lacked, had an immediate perceptual knowledge of the texts and the truths embodied therein. As Yāska observes—the Ṛṣis were directly cognizant of the laws and they handed over the sacred texts by word of mouth to the subsequent generation of teachers, who had not the prerogative of the direct intuition of the truths.<sup>1</sup> The later law-givers like Manu, etc., however, had to depend on the revealed texts in order to propound the laws, which derived their validity from the latter.

Now a difficulty arises. There are injunctions in Smṛti texts which cannot be traced to Vedic scriptures—namely, Aṣṭakāḥ kartavyāḥ, etc.<sup>2</sup> The Mimāṃsists were called upon to defend their validity—otherwise the sceptics would flout those injunctions with impunity. It cannot be held that the Smṛti-writers themselves were the authors of such injunctions, for *ex hypothesi* the Vedas alone are our sole guide in the domain of religious practices, as it is beyond human powers to grasp the relation of causality that subsists between the different sacrificial rites and the fruits accruing from the performance thereof.<sup>3</sup> Nor can it be argued that the Mantras, which are to be recited on the occasion of such rites as Aṣṭakā, etc., are themselves indicative of such injunctions, even though explicit injunctions be wanting.<sup>4</sup> For as Kumārila states, the Mantras too which do not contain *liṅ*-forms cannot have any injunctive force,<sup>5</sup> the accepted view of the Mimāṃsists being that only those Vedic texts are to be regarded as the source of *dharma* that relate to some definite injunction.<sup>6</sup> Medhātithi in his commentary on Manu Smṛti says that the Brāhmaṇa passages are almost invariably the source of all our rituals and practices, though there are solitary cases where Mantra passages, too, can be shown to have injunctive force in the absence of relevant Brāhmaṇa texts.<sup>7</sup>

A counter-argument may be raised on this point. How is it that the very sources of Dharma prescribed in the Smṛtis should have been forgotten? Had the codes of Manu, etc. been based on Vedic injunctions, it is imperative that they should have been recorded by the authors. It is not worthy of commendation that an author forgets the very source on which the validity of his statements rests.<sup>8</sup> If to save their positions it is asserted that the sources, from which the authors of Smṛtis derived their maxims pertaining to individual as well as social life, are now lost irretrievably, a fresh difficulty would arise which would take away all the validity of their assertions. For, the followers of heterodox orders—like the Bauddhas,

<sup>1</sup> Sākṣāt-kṛta-dharmāṇa ṛṣayo babhūvuḥ/te'avarebhyo'sākṣāt-kṛta-dharmabhyā upadeśena mantrant-samprāduḥ—*Nirukta*, i.

<sup>2</sup> Śabara on JS. i, 3. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. pratyakṣeṇānumityā vā yastūpāyo na budhyate/enam vidanti vedena tasmād vedasya vedatā.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. śruti-linga-vākya-prakaraṇa-ssthāna-samākhyānām pāradaurbalyam arthaviprakaṣāt—JS.

<sup>5</sup> na ca mantralingāni svayam mūlatvaṃ pratipadyante, vidhi-śūnyatvāt—Kumārila's *Tantravārttika*, p. 160 (ASS. edn.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. codanālakṣaṇo'rtho dharmah—JS. i, 1. 2. codaneti kriyāyāḥ pravartakam vacanam āhuḥ—Śabara.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*—ayam dharmo brāhmaṇa-vākyebhyo'vagamyate līṅ-ādi-yuktebhyah, kvacicca mantrebhyo'pi 'vasantāya kapiñjatanālabheta' i tyevamādibhyah/. . . nanu ca vidhyarthavāda-mantra-nāmadheyātmako vedah, dharmasca tasya svabhāva ityuktam, tatra yuktam yad vidhivākyaṇi dharme pramāṇam syuh/tebhyo hi yāgādi-viśayā kartavyatā pratiyate/. . . mantrā api—'na mṛtyur-āsidamṛtaṃ na tarhi', 'sudevo'dya prāpated anāvṛt'—ityādayobhāvavṛtta-paridevanādirūpārthābhīdhāyinaḥ kam dharmam pramimate/. . . mantrāstu kvacid vidhāyaka eva, yathā 'vasantāya kapiñjatanālabheta'-iti, ādhāre devatāvidhir māntra-varṇika eva/na hi tatra devatā Karmotpattivākye śrutā nāpi vākyañtareṇa vihitā mantrāstu vihito niyukta—'ita indra' ityādiḥ/ato'smān-mantravarṇād devatāpratipattiḥ, sahasraśaś-ca māntra-varṇikā devatāvidhayaḥ santi/ye'py-anye kriyamānānuvādinaḥ te'pi smṛti-lakṣaṇam dharmam-eva buddham Kurvanti-ti bhavati dharmamūlam anuṣṭheyārthaprakāśena.

<sup>8</sup> syād-etaḥ/arthasmarāṇena kṛtārthānām nisprayojanam mūlasmarāṇam anādarād-bhṛaṣṭam iti/tad-ayuktam nahi yatkrtaṃ prāmāṇyam tadeva vismartum yuiyatē/arthasmarṇteḥ svataḥ-prāmāṇyābhāvāt/sarve puruṣaś-tavat etad jānanti yathā vedamūlajānād vinā prāmāṇyam na niścīyate-iti, te katham iva tatrānādaram kuryuḥ—*Tantravārttika*, p. 162.



Jainas, Pāsupatas—would fall back upon this convenient argument to justify the validity of their respective codes. The result is fatal as we would be compromising the very cause for which we were fighting.<sup>1</sup>

But Jaimini in his Sūtra i. 1. 3—'*api vā karmāsāmanyaṁ pramāṇam anumānaṁ syāt*'—brushes away all such inimical criticisms against the validity of Smṛti canons. There is no gainsaying the fact that the Smṛtis are valid, for otherwise it would be unaccountable why even the most orthodox of the followers of Vedic religion be blindly obeying the dictates of Smṛtis from generation to generation.<sup>2</sup> And thus, their validity being an accepted fact, the only rational way to account for it would be to infer the existence of Vedic texts which are now lost but were some day extant.<sup>3</sup> That there were numerous Vedic recensions which are now lost to us can be proved from various evidences. We have the express statement of Patañjali to the effect that the R̥gveda had 21 recensions, the Yajurveda 101, the Śāmvēda 1000, and the Atharvaveda 9 recensions in all.<sup>4</sup> Or, to avoid the aforesaid challenge of the heterodox faiths, Kumārila proposes an alternative solution. He would suggest that the Dharmaśāstras are based on the extant recensions of the Vedas.<sup>5</sup> The task of the Smṛtikāras was to compile and arrange those injunctions scattered pell-mell according to a definite scheme and into an ordered whole, so that it may be in the nature of a practical guide to the followers of Vedic religion and performers of rituals prescribed therein.<sup>6</sup> It is no wonder that we, who are averse to take the pains of studying the whole Vedic literature in all its numerous recensions and investigating the relevant Mantra and Brāhmaṇa texts bearing upon the corresponding injunctions of the Dharmaśāstras, should be at a loss to find out the sources.<sup>7</sup> Kumārila, at this point, anticipates a hostile argument to the above proposition. Why is it that the authors of Dharmaśāstras should be troubling themselves with the thought of composing new treatises based on the Vedic texts and not rest satisfied with the lighter and less pretentious endeavour of merely collecting them together *totidem verbis*? This argument has some force on the face of it. But Kumārila silences it by stating that the writers of Dharmaśāstras avoided such a procedure for fear of helping in the extinction of Vedic recensions.<sup>8</sup> The Vedas have to be recited as they are traditionally handed down. To separate the *vidhis*, *arthavādas*, *mantras*, etc. from their respective settings and to group them together would be to create a chaos in the fixed order of things which would only accelerate the process that has already set on in the direction of a total loss and confusion of the Śrutis.

<sup>1</sup> *yadi tu pralīna-śākhā-mūlatā kalpyeta tataḥ sarvāśāṁ Buddhādi-smṛtīnāmapi tad-dvāram prāmāṇyaṁ prasajyate/yaśaiva ca yad-abhipretam sa eva tat pralīna-śākhā-mastake nīkṣīpya pramāṇīkuryāt—loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *śeṣaṣṭu mahājana-parigrahādāyaḥ sarve' nuvidhīyante—ibid.; also—prāmāṇyakāraṇam mukhyaṁ vedavidbhīḥ parigrahaḥ—Medhātithi, op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *bhṛānteranubhāvād vā'pi pūrvākyaḍ vipralambhakat/drṣṭānugūṇa-sādhyatvat codanaiva laghiyasi/.*

<sup>4</sup> *ekam śatam adhvaryu-śākhāḥ, ekaviṃśatidhā bāhvr̥cyam, navadhā ātharvaṇaḥ, sahasravartmā sāmavedaḥ—Paśpaśā, Mahābhāṣya. Also, Medhātithi on Manu ii, 6—sa ca vedo bahudhā bhinnah/sahasravartmā sāmavedaḥ sātyamugri-rāṇāyanādibhedena/ekaśatam adhvar-yūnām kāthaka-vājasaneyakādi-bhedena/navadhā ātharvaṇaḥ maudaka-paipalādakādibhedena/ekaviṃśatidhā bāhvr̥cyam-āśvalāyana-itareyādi-bhedena.*

<sup>5</sup> *yadvā vidyamāna-śākhāgataśrutimūlatvam evāstu.*

<sup>6</sup> *Cf. athādyatve pathyanta-eva tāḥ śākhāḥ, kintu viprakīrṇāḥ te dharmāḥ/kasyāñcit śākhāyām aṣṭakādīnām karmaṇām utpattiḥ, kasyāñcit dravyam, kvacid devatā, kvacin mantra-ityevam viprakīrṇāṇām Manvādayo'ngopasamhāram sukhāvabodhārtham cakruḥ—Medhātithi, op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Katham anupalabdhir iti ced ucyate—śākhānām viprakīrṇatvāt puruṣaṇām pramādataḥ/nānaprakaraṇastatvāt smṛter mūlam na dr̥syate—TV.; also—Manur bahubhir bahuśākhādyāyibhīḥ śīṣair anyaiś ca śrōtriyaiḥ saṁgataḥ tebhyaḥ śākhāḥ śrūtva grantham cakāra, tāś ca mūlatvena pradarsya pramāṇīkṛtavān/evam anye tat-pratyayād anuṣṭhānam ādr̥tavanto na mūlopalambhe yatnam kurvanti—Medhātithi, op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *yattu kimartham vedavākyaṇyeva nopasamgrhitāniti/sampradāyavināśabhiteḥ/viśiṣṭānu-pūrvyā vyavasthito hi svādhyāyo'dhyetavyaḥ śrūyate smārtāścācārāḥ kecit kasyāñcit śākhāyām/tatrāpi tu kecit puruṣamevādhikṛtyāmnāyate/. . . tatra yadi tāvat tānyeva vākyaṇi uddhṛtya adhyāpayeyuḥ tataḥ kramānyatvāt svādhyāyavidhivirodhaḥ syāt/anena ca nirdeśena anye'pi arthavādoddhāreṇa vidhimātram adhiyiran karmaupayikamātram vā/tatra veda-pralayaḥ prasajyeta/na cāvaśyaṁ Manvādayaḥ sarvaśākhādyāyinaḥ—TV.*



Kumārila's dissertation on the nature of the various heterodox teachings that have bearing on individual customs and practices is worth perusal. Kumārila offers an alternative interpretation of Jaimini's Sūtra 'hetudarśanācca'—i, 3. 4, as meant to meet the claim of the codes of the Śākyas, etc. to authority. The most striking feature that marks the Vedic religion is that it never holds out to its followers prospects of material comfort or any vain hope with a view to veering them round to its own fold. In this respect it differs diametrically from the other religious systems. The followers of Vedic religion may be tempted to be converted to other heterodox faiths, being seduced by the various alluring prospects and material comforts that the latter might promise.<sup>1</sup> While the followers of Brahmanic religion and culture have no hopes of gain and happiness in this world and afflict themselves by performing the intricate rituals and observing with unswerving faith the rules of conduct prescribed in the Dharmaśāstras that demand the highest measure of sacrifice and self-control, the Śākyas, Jains, etc., on the contrary, revel in all kinds of enormities, are given to epicureanism considering material comfort as the highest goal of life.<sup>2</sup> Nor can it be argued that the injunctions contained in the heterodox codes of conduct can be held to be authoritative on the ground of their being based on lost recensions of Vedas. Such a possibility is ruled out *ipso facto* since the Buddhists themselves are deadily opposed to the orthodox view upholding the infallibility and self-authoritativeness of the Śruti.<sup>3</sup> Kumārila is vehement in his criticism of the sectarian teachings of the Śākyas. He states that the followers of the Buddhistic creed are all outcasts who have been excommunicated from the fold of Brahmanic polity and have thus been compelled to profess a heterodox faith as the last course open to them.<sup>4</sup> That the staunchest advocates of the Buddhistic creed, like Aśvaghoṣa, Dīnāga, Dharmakīrti, etc., to name only a few, were converts from Brahminism in consequence of some social misdemeanour seeking refuge in the enemy's camp, is borne out by tradition as well as external evidences.<sup>5</sup> The Lord Buddha himself belonged to the Kṣātriya or warrior-caste and, later on, appeared in the rôle of a preacher, violating the teachings of the Dharmaśāstras which unanimously deny any member who is not a Brahmin even the least pretension to such exalted rank. Kumārila turns this historical fact to good account by using it as a weapon to silence the uproar of his opponents.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Jayantabhaṭṭa,

<sup>1</sup> Compare: na hyatra ālasyādīr nimittam, duḥkhamaya-karmapradhānatvāt/nāpyanyatra siddhāpāmānye/bhyupāye/nadhikāreṇa asmin ananyagatikatayā/nupraveśaḥ/paraiḥ pūjyānāmapy-atrāpraveśāt/. . . sambhavanti caite hetavo Bauddhādhyāgamaparigraheṣu/tathāhi bhūyastatra karmalāghavam ityalaśaḥ/itah patitānām apyanupraveśa-ityananyagatikāh/bhaksyādyaniyama-iti rāgiṇaḥ—Udayana: *Nyayakusumāñjali*, Chap. ii. Also—śākyādayaśca sarvatra kurvānā dharmadeśanām/hetuḥjāla-vinirmuktām na kathāṃcana kurvate/—TV.

<sup>2</sup> Note in this connection the very humorous and decisive reference to the Buddhist cult in Kṛṣṇa Mīśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*: aho sādhuṛayam saugatadharmo yatra saukhyam mokṣaś ca/tathā hi—āvāso layanam manoharam abhiprāyanurupā bañi—/nāryo bañchita-kālam iṣṭam aśanam śāyā nṛduprastarā/śraddhā-pūrvam upasitā yuvatibhiḥ kṣiptānga-rāgotsava-kridānandabharair brajanti vilasaj-jyotsnojjvalā rātrayaḥ/—Act iii, 9.

<sup>3</sup> nahi śākyabhojaka-kṣapanakādīnam veda-saṃyoga-sambhavo yena tanmūlatayā svaviṣaye pramāṇam syuḥ,—svavacanābhyupagamāt, taiśca vedasya apramānyābhidhānāt, pratyaśa-veda-viruddhārthopadeśācca/tatrasambhavaḥ—tāsu smṛtiṣu vedādhyāyananīśedhāt/sati hi vedādhyetṛtve Buddhādīnām tanmūlatā syānnave'ti jāyate vicāraṇā/yatra tu tatsambandho dūrāpetas-tatra kā tanmūlatāśāṅkā svayaṃ ca mūlāntaram smṛtiparamparāyātam abhyupagacchanti—'paśyāmy-aham bhikṣūnām divēyna cakṣuś sugatim durgatim ca'—iti—Medhātithi, *op. cit.* We may cite in this connection Dharmakīrti's vehement attack on Brahmanic religion in his *Pramāṇavārttika*: vedāpāmānyam kasyacit kartṛvādah snāne dharmecchā jātivādāvalepaḥ/santāpārambhah pāpānāya ceti dvastaprajñānām pañca līṅgāni jādye/

<sup>4</sup> śākyādi-vacanāni tu . . . trayī-bāhyebhyaś caturtha-varṇa-niravasitaprāyebhyo vyāmūḍhebhyaḥ samarpitāni na veda-mūlatvena sambhavyante—TV.

<sup>5</sup> Compare: traivarnika-bhikṣṛtair anadhikāribhir ananyagatikatvāt *Kīrti-Prajñākaravāt*. We may note in this connection the oft-quoted maxim—viz. *Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇaka-nyāya* which also bears out the truth of the tradition that the Buddhist monks were in their earlier life followers of Brahmanic faith.

<sup>6</sup> svadharmātikrameṇa ca yena kṣātriyēṇa satā pravakṛtva-pratigrahaḥ pratipannau sa dharmam aviḥlutaṃ upadekṣyati kaḥ samāśvāsaḥ/uktaṃca—paralokaviruddhāni kurvāṇam dūratas-tyajet/ātmanam yo'tisamdhatte so'nyasmai syāt katham hita iti/Buddhādeḥ punar-ayameva vyatikramo'laṃkārabuddhaḥ sthitaḥ/yenaivaṃ āha—'Kalikaluṣa-kṛtāni yāni loke mayi nipatantu vimucyātām tu lokah'—*op. cit.*



the author of Nyāya-Maṇjari, exposes the hypocrisy and insincerity of the Buddhists even to their own faith. For though they outwardly preach the equality of mankind, abhor untouchability and condemn the division into castes, still the influence of Brahmanic culture proves too strong for them to be shaken off by a mere tonsuring of the scalp or by putting on the monk's attire.<sup>1</sup> The Buddhists, to impart to their texts an appearance of authority, are not even ashamed of borrowing the enigmatic incantations from the śāstras of their sworn enemies, and modelling their teachings along lines adopted by the Brahmanic religious codes.<sup>2</sup>

Before we conclude our study, we should advert to one minor problem which might be raised by the Buddhists as a protest against the Mimāṃsist view that the Brahmanic religious texts based on the Vedas are never concerned with secular topics, never hold out prospects of material gain to their adherents. This contention cannot be universally valid. For we have in the Smṛtis as well as in the Vedas injunctions, which professedly relate to rituals that have worldly gains as their rewards. For such injunctions as—'*grāmakāmaḥ saṃgrahanyā yajeta*', etc. promise material prosperity to the performers of the respective rituals. Kumārila answers this objection by arguing that though the fruits accruing from the performance of these rituals might be in the form of material gain, yet that does not annul the validity of such injunctions which are restrictive in character. For, in the case of restrictive injunctions (*niyamavidhis*), the result is twofold—one secular (or *dr̥ṣṭa-phala*) and the other transcendental (*adr̥ṣṭa-phala*). Thus the Mimāṃsists' standpoint remains quite safe and unshaken.<sup>3</sup> As a general rule, Kumārila observes—everything pertaining to religion and salvation falls within the purview of Śruti, whereas that which has reference to our material comfort and pleasure is derivable through the ordinary instruments of knowledge, as it is in the case of agriculture, industry or medical science, where no Vedic injunctions are required to stir us to activity.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, it is evident that while the orthodox Smṛtis vouchsafe the self-authoritativeness of the Śrutis and base their canons on the injunctions contained therein, the sceptics would by no means admit the omniscience and validity of the Vedas and this sacrilegious attitude was responsible for bringing upon them the denunciation of the authors of Dharmasāstras.<sup>5</sup> But it is very curious to note that Kumārila at the close of his long dissertation has, with commendable diplomacy, shown that the Buddhists too, *willy-nilly*, derive their instructions from the Vedic *arthavādas*, and that the true purport of their teachings is to prove the ephemerality of the phenomenal universe which when truly grasped would lead to salvation or *nirvāṇa*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *cāturvarṇya-cāturāśramya-rūpaś caṣa mahājano vedaprathamapravṛtta āgamāntara-vādibhir-apratyākhyeya eva tathā caite buddhādayo'pi durātmāno vedaprāmānya-niyamitā eva caṇḍālādīsparśam pariharanti/niraste hi jātivādāvalepe vā kva caṇḍālādīsparśa/eṣaḥ ye'pi anye kecit aśuci-bhākṣaṇāgamyāgamanādinirvikalpadiḥśāprakāraṃ akāryam anuṣṭhanti, te'pi cāturvarṇyādi-mahājana bhūtās taṃ taṃ rahasi kurvanti na prakāśam, nirvīṣaṅke hi tacchāstrapratyaye kimiti cauryavat tasathānuṣṭhānam—op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *te hi svāgamaprāmānyam abhivadanto vedarītyā' bhīdadhāti, vede yathā tathā praveṣṭum ihante, vaidikān arthān antarā'ntarā svāgameṣu nibadhnanti, veda-sparsa-pūtam iva ātmānam manyante/teṣāṃ apy-antarhrdaye jvalatīva prāmānyam—op. cit., Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.*

<sup>3</sup> *na cāvaghātayāgādīnāṃ vr̥ṣṭikāmayāgādīnāṃ ca dr̥ṣṭārthānāṃ avidikātvam/tasmāt satyapi dr̥ṣṭārthatve sambhavyate vedamūlatvaṃ niyamādr̥ṣṭasidher ananyapramāṇakatvāt/ataśca guryanugamanāder naimittikatvāt akriyāyāṃ pratyavāyah, karaṇe ca na bhavati/dr̥ṣṭam ca prito gurur-adhyāpayaṣyati tyevamādi nīṣadyate/niyamācca avighnasamāptyarthā apūrvasiddhiḥ—op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *tatra yāvād dharmamokṣasambandhi tat vedaprabhavam/yaṭ tu arthasukhaviṣayam tallokaavyavahārapūrvakam iti vivektavyam—op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *vedadharmānuvartti* ca prāyeṇa sakalo janah/vedabāhyastu yaḥ kaścid āgamo vañcanaiva sā—*Nyāyamañjari*. Also—*nāstiko vedanindakaḥ—Manu, II, 11.*

<sup>6</sup> *sarvatra hi tadbaleṇa pravartate taduparame coparamatī vijñāna-mātra-Kṣaṇabhanganairātmnyādi-vādānāṃ api upaṇiṣadarthavādaprabhavatvaṃ viṣayeṣu ātyantikaṃ rāgaṃ nīvarttayitum ityupapannam sarveṣāṃ prāmānyam—Tantravārttika.* The same idea is also expressed in a verse of the *Slokavārttika*—

yuktyā'nupetām asatīm prakalpya  
yadvāsanām arthanirākriyeyam/  
āsthānivr̥ṭtyartham avādi Baudhdhair

grāhaṃ gatās tatra kathamcid anye—*Nirālambanavāda*, v. 201.



The true implications of the teachings of Lord Buddha were, however, lost to his disciples, and this confusion resulted in a permanent breach being opened up between their schools on the one hand and the Brahmanic religious sects on the other—a subject which would constitute a most interesting theme for a separate study altogether.

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA.

## CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH INDIA

### (A Newly Discovered Chronogram)

#### I. 317 A.D., FOREIGN CHRISTIANS IN COCHIN

With reference to the article 'Christianity in South India' appearing in *Indian Culture*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (April-June, 1943, pp. 197-204), it may be interesting to mention that a chronogram 'rauravam dēvarājyam', expressly giving the *Kali* day on which some Christians from Baghdad came to Cranganore in Cochin and preached Christianity to the Chera King there, was discovered some years ago by Mr. V. K. Raman Menon, late Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Cochin. Till January 1941 it was found by him in three Hindu MSS., two belonging to two reputed Nambudiri Brahmin families, and one to the Government of Cochin. Details about the chronogram and extracts from the documents were published by me first in Vol. X (pages 56-64) of the Malayalam Journal of the Pan-Kerala Literary Academy for 1117 M.E. (1941-2), and subsequently in some other publications. This is the only chronogram for an ancient Christian event, found in any Hindu document in Kerala. The day corresponds to—

Thursday,  $\frac{14\text{th February, } 317 \text{ A.D.}}{30\text{th Kumbham, Kali } 3418}$

The ancient Malabar (= Kerala) Syrian Nazranis (= Christians) themselves have the traditionary date 345 A.D. for the granting of the famous copper-plate (lost since 1544 A.D.) to the foreign merchant prince Thomas Cana by a Chera King. This Thomas brought with him to Cranganore a bishop and many other foreign Christians and founded a colony there in the town 'Makotaiyar-Paṭṭanam' (Tamil Makotai) built by him. It seems that Thomas Cana and his associates came in 317, and received the copper-plate in 345 A.D.

#### II. 293 AND 315 A.D., INDIGENOUS CHRISTIANS IN COROMANDEL AND TRAVANCORE

It may be mentioned also that the dates 293 A.D. and 315 A.D. are given in a 19th century Malayalam document: (1) for the acceptance by the Nazranis of Quilon and Niranam (both in Travancore) of some Tamil customs introduced by a colony of Tamil Nazranis from Pukar near the mouth of the Canvery on the Coromandel Coast, and (2) for the coming of 'the sorcerer called Māṇikkavāchakar' (who cannot be the same as the author of the Tamil poem *Tiruvāchakam*). It is not known from where the Christian author of the document got the two dates.

#### III. CIRCA 535, CHRISTIANS IN MALABAR

The above four dates (293, 315, 317 and 345) are anterior to Cosmas's *Topographia Christiana* (circa 535), which contains the earliest reference to Christians in 'Male', i.e. Malabar. They are also prior to circa 354 A.D., when, according to the Ecclesiastical History (now lost) of the Arian Philostorgius (as used by Patriarch Photinus in his epitome *Bibliotheca*, 9th century), the Emperor Constantinus equipped and sent to South Arabia, Abyssinia, Ceylon and India a mission under the leadership of 'Theophilus the Indian', a native of 'Dibous', which may be Diu south of Kathiawar or some other place.



## IV. ST. THOMAS TRADITION

Cosmas does not speak of any tradition in Malabar or elsewhere about the coming of St. Thomas to South India, the earliest reference to that tradition being found in Bar-Hebreus, and Marco Polo, both of the 13th century A.D. It has yet to be discovered whether any document of the first twelve centuries mentions the existence of the tradition connecting St. Thomas with South India.

## V. BETUMAH

It has also to be investigated whether the spelling 'Betumah' gives the correct rendering of the vowels and consonants of the Arabic name originally recorded by the Arab geographers and travellers of the 9th-10th centuries, and whether it really stood for Patana found in the name Mayilai-Patanam for Mylapore. Arabic, like Syriac and some other languages, does not generally mark the vowels of words, and is lacking in certain consonants found in Indian languages.

T. K. JOSEPH.

## UBHAYASĀMYADIM

In an inscription dated A.D. 1107, the Hangal Kadamba ruler Tailapa, a subordinate of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, is said to have been ruling the division of Pānugal Five Hundred—*Ubhayasāmyadim*. This Kannada phrase has been rendered by L. D. Barnett who edits the inscription (E.I., xiii, p. 15) into 'with impartiality'. All rule worth the name is presumably impartial, and no great merit attaches to this common characteristic. Further, *sāmya* by itself would give the meaning of impartiality, and *Ubhayasāmya* is rather an unnecessary and unusual combination for indicating this simple meaning. We have to recognize in fact a term of some technical import in this phrase, and this is what Rice did long ago when he translated the phrase 'with both rights' (E.C., viii, SK. 125). The Kannada phrase should, I think, really be traced back through Prākṛit variants to an original Sanskrit phrase 'Ubhayasvāmya', i.e. proprietorship over both the internal and external source of revenue—*abhyantarasvāmya* and *bāhyasvāmya*, so to say.

That *sāmya* does not mean impartiality, but is really a *tadbhava* of *svāmya*, becomes clear from an expression like *manneya sāmyada tereyellamam biṭṭu* (U 18-19 of No. 100 in S.I.I., XXI) which occurs in an inscription of A.D. 1045, and means: giving up all the taxes due on account of the ownership of the manne (headship); and the person who gave up the claim was the *ūrodeya* (headman) of the village of Dondavatti, and hence there can be no manner of doubt about the meaning of the phrase cited above.

K. A. NILAKANTA SHASTRI.

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES <sup>1</sup>

It is encouraging to find that many societies and scholars are now engaged in spite of manifold difficulties in indological researches with the result that many thoughtful books and articles are being published from time to time. The *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* by Macdonell and Keith is an invaluable work but it should be revised and improved. Like the Vedic Index we are in great need of the Buddhist and Jain Indexes. Dr. Malalasekera has published a *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*. Sorensen's *Index to the Mahābhārata* is likewise useful but what we really want nowadays is the type of work done by Macdonell and Keith in the Vedic Index. For the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, the summaries by Jacobi with their useful indexes are noteworthy. If we can publish a systematic and

<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting of the Prācya Vāṇi Mandira—February, 1945.



scientific study of the great epics in all their aspects, social, political, economic, and religious, it will help a good deal in the progress of Indian culture. Similarly about the studies in the Purāṇas, I know that some scholars are engaged in this field but we must admit that Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* is the most critical and scientific treatment of the subject although we may not accept some of his views. It is always good to read the original books as far as possible and not their translations in order to do well in researches. Sometimes we are misled by wrong translations. It should be our chief aim to print and publish good editions of important books which still remain unpublished. In Jain literature especially there are many important works which are still buried in manuscripts. Like the Pali Text Society we feel the absence of a good Jain Society which can publish several important Jain texts and commentaries. In archaeology, numismatics and epigraphy much progress has been made through the efforts of scholars like Marshall, Allan, Rapson, Fleet, Bühler, Kielhorn, R. D. Banerjee, D. R. Bhandarkar, Majumdar and others. In ancient Indian geography some important work has been done recently which may be taken as an improvement on the previous work done by Cunningham, Stein, Buchanan Hamilton and others. In this field we must mention Kirfel's valuable work, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. In the domain of fine arts and architecture many important publications have come to light, such as 'Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India' by Burgess, 'Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon' by Coomaraswamy, 'Barhut Sculptures' by Barua, 'Viṣṇudharmottaraṃ' by Kramrisch, besides the famous works by Vincent Smith, Bachofer, Vogel, Codrington, Ganguly and others. In all branches of indological studies much progress has been made and even in Baṅgabhāṣā and sāhitya. Some progress is being made in Chinese and Tibetan studies in India and abroad. For the Chinese studies, the Cheena Bhavana of the Viśvabhāratī at Śāntiniketan has got to perform some work of importance. In this temple of learning, I mean the Prācyā Vāṇī Mandira, I am delighted to find that Islamic culture has found a place and some competent Muslim scholars have been delivering lectures on many topics of Islamic culture. It is now time for us to deal as fully as possible, in a scientific manner, without any *parti pris*, with many important topics relating to all branches of indology. In the social history of India, for instance, the subject of caste is still an all-important one. According to some the R̥gvedic Society knew nothing of the caste system while others think that its germs were already there. The four castes, Brāhmaṇa (priest), Rājanya (warrior), Vaiśya (commoner) and Śūdra are no doubt mentioned in the *Puruṣasūkta*, but this hymn is thought to be a later interpolation. The R̥gveda often speaks of priests, princes and nobles, warriors, artisans and so on, but there is hardly any mention of an exclusive warrior caste. We do not find mention of a hereditary caste system including in it the lower order of farmers, cattle-traders, labourers, artisans and merchants. The warriors were also the agriculturists and industrial workers during the early stage when priesthood was not settled by birth. The house priest or the *purohita* in the royal family performed the sacrifices for the king, but in R̥gvedic and even in later Vedic ages we find that the *pater familias* performed sacrifices and ceremonies for himself with his wife without any priestly aid. The growth of complication in society naturally tends to the division of labour and from this we may get the real explanation of the origin of the caste system in India which naturally evolved from the distinction between the Aryan colour (*varṇa*) and that of the aborigines (characterized as *dāsa*s and *dasyu*s). The line of demarcation was as yet vague and society was roughly divided into (1) the holy power (*Brahman*), (2) the kingly power (*Kṣatra*), and (3) the commonality (*viś*).

The closing period of the R̥gveda and that of the later Saṃhitās and the older Brāhmaṇas seem to have coincided. The growth of the caste system with its philosophic justification in the *Puruṣasūkta* and the *Puruṣavidya Brāhmaṇa* may be regarded as the distinctive feature of the transitional period. With the progress of time priesthood was bound to be determined by birth. The example of king Devāpi, who combined in himself the function of a priest, shows merely that with the introduction of the caste system a king was not suddenly deprived of his original



priestly rites and privileges. During the period of the later *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, the growth in the complication of rituals led to the hierarchy of priest who began to assume great importance in the estimation of the people, for they were the guides through the wilderness of sacrificial art. So the Brahmanical priests were raised to the position of gods. The idea of edifying the Brahmanical class does not stop with putting its members on a par of sanctity with heavenly gods. It goes a step further when a *Brāhmaṇa* is regarded as the very embodiment of all deities. A Brahmin is placed above the level of ordinary laws and customs. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* asserts that nothing injures the stomach of a *Brāhmaṇa*, which indicates that objects and food, remains of a sacrifice, etc. which could not be taken by any other individual, might with impunity be given to a *Brāhmaṇa*. Mere birth in a Brahmanical family does not seem to have as yet become the only title for the enjoyment of all such rights. Mastery in the sacred lore, Brahmanic descent, and corresponding spiritual conduct and, above all, the exercise of priestly function for the community—all these could reasonably be demanded from the members of the priestly caste. In return for his spiritual service a Brahmin is endowed with extraordinary rights and privileges. In no circumstances could a Brahmin be deprived of his property. The law is twisted, as we find in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, in favour of the Brahmanical class, for the orthodox theory makes Soma the king of the *Brāhmaṇas*, whom the earthly ruler cannot control. The idea of priestly ascendancy was carried to a pitch during the subsequent age of the *Sūtras* and the *Epics*.

Side by side with the ascendancy of the priestly class we find the tendency of other classes to harden themselves slowly into caste. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* the chariot-makers appear as a special class along with the *Vaiśyas*. The importance assumed by the priestly class during the *Brāhmaṇa* period could not eclipse the power and prestige of the princely class, for the *Kṣatriya* is regarded as the *dharma* incarnate. Some of the *Kṣatriya* princes could by virtue of their wisdom become Brahmanical sages. These *Rājarsis* or royal seers are said to have been the composers of some of the hymns of the *R̥gveda*. Such savants among the *Kṣatriyas* are not rare. Some of the kings like Janaka, *Āsvapati* of *Kekaya*, *Pravāhaṇa* *Jaivali*, *Ajātaśatru* of *Kāśi* are said to have defeated the *Brāhmaṇas* in philosophical contests and inculcated to them the loftiest truths. The case of *Satyakāma Jābāla* who was allowed by the Brahmanical sage *Gautama* to become his pupil shows even then caste barriers could be surmounted. Thus we see that the priestly class and the princely class were in a better position in the Vedic and immediately succeeding period than that of the *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*. The *Śūdras* were placed in the rank of menials at the mercy of the three upper classes. They had no right to repeat the sacred texts or offer religious sacrifices, for they were branded as impure. The progeny of a *Śūdra* girl was despised as low-born. The *Śūdras*, though forming a part of the society, seem to have no social status during the *Sūtra* period. They are nowhere classed as *Vrātyas* or outcastes, that is, persons placed outside the pale of *Aryandom*. A member of the highest caste might, if need be, marry a *Śūdra* girl. The offspring of such union could not claim to be treated as twice-born. In times of distress a Brahmin might even take food from a *Śūdra*. In the matter of marriage the most important question was that of the clan or family to which the girl belonged. According to *Śāṅkhāyana* a girl should recite, i.e. declare her clan name at the time of her marriage. In the *Gṛhya Sūtra* of *Āśvalāyana* the heroic rape of a girl after killing her relations or protectors is mentioned as a form of marriage. This shows that in the matter of marriage the question of caste could not prevail. A member of any of the three upper castes was banned as a *Vrātya*, if he was not duly initiated at the proper time. Such a person would be excluded from the society. No teacher would teach him, no priest would make him initiated or perform his sacrifices. With him all kinds of social intercourse were forbidden. A person would ordinarily marry a member of his own caste but marriage with a member outside one's own caste was not unknown. Thus a Brahmin enjoyed the right of having a *Kṣatriya*, a *Vaiśya* or even a *Śūdra* girl as his wife. Similarly a *Kṣatriya* could take a *Vaiśya* or *Śūdra* wife. Marriage with a *Śūdra* woman was open to a *Vaiśya*. The marriage of a *Śūdra* or a *Vaiśya* with a Brahmin or *Kṣatriya*



girl was thought to be unusual. Women were gradually being deprived of their former independence as we find in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Their fate was thus similar to that of the Śūdras who had no legal status of their own.

The Indo-Aryan social order as revealed in the early Buddhist and Jain texts is practically the same. The usual order of the two upper castes is as follows: the Kṣatriyas being placed first and the Brāhmaṇas next in rank. This was due to the fact that the Jains and Buddhists gave the Kṣatriyas superiority over the Brāhmaṇas on the Brahmanical ground, namely, the purity of birth through seven generations on paternal and maternal sides. A sharp distinction is sought to be made between the Brāhmaṇas as they ought to have been and the Brāhmaṇas as they actually were. Ten classes of Brahmins are mentioned in the Jātakas (cf. *Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jālaka*): (1) those who went about like physicians, (2) those who like servants worked as messengers or wagon-drivers, (3) those who in the garb of monks behaved like tax-collectors, (4) those who begged in the garb of monks looking like diggers of stumps, (5) those who like traders used to sell fruits, timbers, scents, honey, etc., (6) those who like the Ambaṣṭhas and the Vaiśyas carried on agriculture and farming, etc., (7) those who acted as butchers, (8) those who acted like *gopas* and *niṣādas* guarding the business quarters, (9) those who in the garb of ascetics behaved like hunters, etc., and (10) those *yājñikas* who acted as bathers. They are said to have followed even such low pursuits as those of apothecaries, druggists, fortune-tellers, palmists, story-tellers, ballad-reciters, and soothsayers. Although they stood for the highest religious ideal, in practice they appeared as hoarders of wealth, etc. The Brahmins who were proud of their caste were known according to the countries and families to which they belonged, e.g. *Udiccadeśa* (north or north-western countries), Kāśī, Rājagriha, Magadha, etc. They had their five-fold code for achieving the highest ideal.

As known to Megasthenes, the body-politic of India was so divided that no one was allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own. As for example, a soldier could not become a husbandman, or an artisan a philosopher. But after all, the Brāhmaṇas as a class never ceased to be the real power. The Brāhmaṇa always stood for the highest culture of human mind and the highest example of human character.

If in Jainism and Buddhism the Brāhmaṇa by mere birth was underrated as an ethical being, it was just for the reason of raising the importance of the religious ideal for which he stood.

I mention these facts just to make us cautious against drawing hasty conclusions from any single set of facts.

B. C. LAW.

### EARLY BUDDHIST 'WAYFARERS' (MALE AND FEMALE)<sup>1</sup>

Buddhist monks and nuns (*bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs*), male and female saints (*theras* and *therīs*), novices (*sāmaṇeras* and *sāmaṇerīs*), male and female wanderers (*paribbājakas* and *paribbājikās*), and other recluses and ascetics may be rightly called as male and female 'wayfarers'. I strongly support Mrs. Rhys Davids' view in this connection.

Monks and nuns played an important part in early Buddhism. They renounced the world after having fully realized its worthlessness and embraced Buddhism. They had to pass through the three stages of sanctification<sup>2</sup> in order to obtain the

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal held on 5-3-45. It is a brief résumé of some of the important points fully discussed in my paper entitled 'Early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters' to be published in the *Journal of R.A.S. of Bengal*.

<sup>2</sup> (a) *Solāpanna*—Advancing stream and not the stream of lust. It is progressive sanctification, (b) *Sakadāgāmi*—once returner, born twice, once in the world of gods and once in the world of men, (c) *Anāgāmi*—never returner, and (d) *Arahā*—final and absolute emancipation not restricted by age or sex or calling—the highest state of sanctification in which there is the destruction of passion, hatred and delusion. Chief features of a *thera* are high character, knowing the essential doctrines by heart, practising the four stages of meditation. He must be conscious of having acquired freedom through the destruction of mental intoxications.



final stage which enabled them to become arhats or saints. The saints are entitled to attain *nirvāṇa* which is undoubtedly the blissful state of sanctification. With the realization of *nirvāṇa* the sinful nature vanishes for ever. It is freedom from all sins and final release from lower nature. In its negative aspect it means the going out of greed, ill-will, dullness, etc. and in its positive aspect, it means mental enlightenment conceived as light, insight, state of feeling happiness, cool, calm and content, peace, safety and self-mastery. In brief, the attributes of *nirvāṇa* consist of absence of passion, destruction of pride, getting rid of thirst, freedom from attachment and destruction of sensual pleasures and all sufferings. It is the stage in which there is neither birth nor old age nor death nor disease nor contact with what is unpleasant, neither failure of wishes nor separation from the pleasant, one which is peaceful, final and imperishable.<sup>1</sup> In one word, it is *mokṣa* or liberation.

Buddha Gautama had a large number of lay worshippers and supporters (*upāsakas* and *upāsikās*), many of whom became prominent in the public eye, although their relationship with the Master, so far as their habits or modes of life were concerned, was not so intimate as that of those men and women who had renounced the world and were admitted into the religious order. The early Buddhist monks and nuns belonged to a distinct religious order and school of thought in which the position of the Buddha was that of a founder of an order, leader of a following, and teacher of a band of followers. All such orders and schools contained Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, who were ascetics or recluses leading the life of wanderers. The Brāhmaṇas admitted into their orders none but those who belonged to Brahmin families; while the Sramaṇas (Śramaṇas) kept the door of admission open to recruits from all social grades. The early Buddhist brothers became known as *Sākyaputtiya sramaṇas*, i.e. recluses belonging to the order founded by a scion of Śākya race of Kapilavastu situated in the Nepalese Terai. They were also known as *Buddhaputtā* or sons of the Buddha. At the Deer Park of Sarnath near Benares, the Buddha converted five disciples. This was rapidly followed by the conversion of a banker's son, Yasa and his 54 comrades. Just as Jesus of Nazareth addressed his first disciples five centuries later, so also did Gautama the Buddha who addressed his first sixty disciples thus: 'Come ye, the law is well expounded, lead the holy life to make an end of all pain.' There were sixty saints when the Buddha addressed his worthy followers in these inspiring words: 'Freed am I, O mendicants! from all nooses, whether divine or human and you too are thus freed. Go ye forth, O mendicants! and wander about for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the good and happiness of gods and men. Go not two by the same road. Address, O mendicants! the doctrine which is beneficial in the beginning, beneficial in the middle, beneficial in the end, pregnant with meaning, well-worded, complete in form and reveals the pure life of holiness. There are individuals who in spite of their little proneness to sin, fall away from the truth and norm for want of preaching, but may be the future expounders of the law.' The Buddha and his first disciples enthusiastically started the work of preaching the message under the fervour of a new-born faith. The mendicants brought to the Master ardent applications for initiation and ordination from various quarters and various localities (*nānādisā nānā janapadā*) which proved to be a tedious task for them. This led the Master to send for his followers and he addressed them thus: 'I enjoin, O bhikkhus! henceforth do you yourselves initiate and ordain persons as you find yourselves in this or that quarter, in this or that locality. They are to be initiated and ordained thus: causing them at first to be shaven clean of hair and beard, clad in yellow garments, with the upper robe donned on one shoulder, making them bow down at the feet of the bhikkhus and sit on their

<sup>1</sup> Compare the well-known stanzas of Aśvaghoṣa:—

Duḥkṣakṣayo hetupariṣayācca śāntaṃ śivaṃ sāksikuruṣva dharmam |  
Trṣṇāvirāgaṃ layanaṃ nirodham sanātanaṃ trāṇamahāryamāryam ||

(*Saundarananda-Kāvya*, Canto XVI, v. 26.)

Yasminna jātirna jarā na mṛtyurna vyādhayo nāpriyasamprayogaḥ |  
Necchāvipanna priyaviprayogaḥ kṣemaṃ padaṃ naiṣṭikamacyutaṃ tat ||

(*Ibid.*, v. 27.)



heels with joined hands, say unto them, "Thus do thou declare the faith: I recourse to the Enlightened One as my refuge, I recourse to the Doctrine as my refuge, I recourse to the Order as my refuge.<sup>1</sup> For the second and the third time do I declare the same". The rule thus introduced and enforced was the same for initiation and ordination.

Buddha wandered from place to place and succeeded in converting many persons to his faith. Twelve millions of citizens of Magadha assembled in the capital and the Master preached to them a discourse, embracing the topics suited to their temperament and holding before them the stern realities of life and the means of escape therefrom. Their hearts were so ripe for the reception of the truth that almost all of them headed by king Bimbisāra of Magadha (Patna and Gaya Districts) acquired at that very sitting the eye of clear insight into the Law. The next triumph was achieved when Sāriputta and Moggallāna were converted to Buddhism. They formerly belonged to the School of Sañjaya, a wandering teacher of a different school, and these two monks later became the chief disciples of Gautama Buddha. He converted his own son Rāhula, half-brother Nanda and many gifted Śākya youths such as Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbiḷa, Devadatta, and Upālī.

Many Śākya ladies headed by Siddhārtha's aunt, step and foster-mother Mahā-pajāpati Gautamī and including his wife Yaśodharā left the city of Kapilavastu (Nepal Terai) in a body in right earnest and travelled on foot as far as Vaiśālī (modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District) to seek admission into the *Saṅgha* (congregation).<sup>2</sup> Ānanda pleaded their cause and the Master afterwards granted their prayer. Buddha at first showed his unwillingness because he feared lest the duration of the good Faith be shortened if women were admitted into the *Saṅgha*. The Sisters were made juniors to the Brothers. With their admission into the *Saṅgha*, there grew up a Sisterhood, the *Saṅgha* of the bhikkhunis side by side with that of the bhikkhus (monks) and both existed through centuries that followed. Thereafter the Buddhist community came to be composed of monks, nuns and lay worshippers, male and female. It is interesting to note that the sisters were found to be the pupils (*antevāsīnīs*) of the elderly brothers or sisters, but no brother was known to have been the pupil of any sister, however spiritually advanced she might be.

There grew up in course of time the rank of the *sāmaṇeras* and *sāmaṇerīs*. Gradually the number of followers and lay worshippers increased year after year during the forty-five years of the Master's ministration and preaching career. Many vihāras were built and dedicated to the Fraternity. The rules for the guidance of the *Saṅgha* were enforced and amended from time to time. Many forms of speech and conventions were introduced. In short, the Master was the source of the law and the person to set the seal of supreme power.

The Pātimokkha Code which is a code of Buddhist monastic laws and which contains a fairly large body of rules, conventions and forms of procedure for the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhuni Saṅgha was made with penal sections laid down in it. The *Saṅgha* was an independent body guided by the principles and ideals and the rules and conventions, in short, by the traditions of the elect.

The total number of bhikkhus in Buddha's lifetime is not known. The Pali Chronicles give the number of the bhikkhus present at a conference shortly after the Buddha's demise as 7,00,000 which cannot be regarded as the total number of bhikkhus. There was a large number of bhikkhunis. The Buddha was generally accompanied by 500 bhikkhus in his wanderings and only in a solitary case he is said to have the company of 1250 bhikkhus. Really speaking, no census was taken and the number mentioned in texts does not seem to be accurate.

<sup>1</sup> *Buddham saraṇam gacchāmi, Dhammam saraṇam gacchāmi, and Saṅgham saraṇam gacchāmi*. Each of these refuges is a supreme object of devotion and worship.

<sup>2</sup> It is *samūha* or group. It is a corporate body which is characterized by the uniformity of creed and conduct. Internal cohesion constitutes the real life of a *Saṅgha*. The unity of action (concerted action) and commonness of goal characterize its external life. *Saṅgha* stands essentially as a symbol of Fraternity.



The *Anguttara Nikāya*, a book of the early Buddhist Canon, supplies us with two lists—one of only 38 theras or saints and the other of only 13 therīs or female saints who were declared foremost by the Master himself in the rank of those noted for some special attainments. Among the early Buddhist brothers and sisters, the first-place-holders may be classed under the following types: those historically important as pioneers, as personalities, as men of intelligence and understanding, as mystics, contemplatives and miracle-workers, as preachers and instructors, as chanters, as learners and probationers, as inspirers and missionaries, as ascetics, as believers, as intuitionists, as self-controlled ones, as exponents, as popularizers, as versifiers, as messengers, as rationers and as household managers. The theras and therīs may be shown to have played the following parts in the history of the formulation of Buddha's words, the development of Buddhist literary tradition and the textual settings in the Canon: (1) that of the most interested listeners, memorizers and transmitters; (2) that of the most interested interrogators, or interlocutors; (3) that of the capable elaborators, elucidators, expositors, expounders, analyzers, crystallizers and upholders; (4) that of the formulators, codifiers, instructors, disseminators, propounders, propagators and popularizers; (5) that of the versifiers, composers, compilers, chanters and inspirers; (6) that of the standard bearers and testifiers. A detailed account of the important theras and therīs has been given in my paper to be published shortly in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

The main interest of the study of the Psalms of the early Buddhists lies in ascertaining how the theras and the therīs made the Buddha's teachings as their own. It is true that many of their words are impersonal and may therefore be left out of account. But those which are full of personal note are of paramount interest.

The *Psalms of the Sisters* which appear in the form of ballads or animated dialogues in verse or in the form of legendary narrations cannot be supposed to have been the actual compositions of the therīs to whom these are attributed. It must be admitted that their ways of expression are peculiarly womanly and their interest and environments befit the lives of women. No doubt a true picture of the life of the female saints can be drawn from the *Therīgāthā* or the *Psalms of the Sisters*. Likewise we get a detailed account of the male saints from the *Psalms of the Brothers*.

B. C. LAW.

### ISITĀLA TAḌĀGA IN KHĀRAVELA'S INSCRIPTION

Dr. Moti Chandra, Curator of the Art Section of the Bombay Museum, has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that in the Jaina *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra* we have mention of a famous tank in Tosali known by the name of Rṣi Taḍāga, 'the Rṣi Tank'. This has led me to reconsider the position of my reading *Kali(ṇ)ganagari-Khibīra(ṇ) sītala-taḍāga*<sup>1</sup>—as compared with Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji's *Khibīra-Isitāla-taḍāga*<sup>1</sup> (*E.I.*, XX, pp. 72f.) as the name of the famous tank in KhāraVELA's capital.

I cannot but accept the second reading *Isitāla-taḍāga* apart from *Khibīra* in preference to my reading *sītala-taḍāga* (*I.H.Q.*, XIV, pp. 261ff.), and that for the following three reasons:—

1. That if the word before *taḍāga* were written *sītala* (meaning 'cool') instead of *sītala*, the case would have certainly gone in favour of my reading and interpretation.
2. That the word preceding *taḍāga* may indeed be read as (i) *sil(ā)la* meaning 'the Rṣi abounded' or 'the Rṣi palmyra'.
3. That the name *Isitāla-taḍāga* is completely in accord with the Jaina tradition of the *Rṣi-taḍāga* in Tosali.

As for the reading of *Kalīṇganagari-Khibīr(aṇ)*, it stands as adopted in *I.H.Q.*

B. M. BARUA.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar has upheld this reading in his *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 2.



## REVIEWS

**STUDIES IN THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF TONDAMANĀḌALAM** (University of Madras: The Saṅkara-Pārvaṭī Lectures, 1943-44), by R. Sathianathaier, M.A., I.T., Lecturer, the Annamalai University, Rochouse & Sons, Ltd., Francis Joseph Street, Madras, 1944, pp. 1-54, with a short preface, an index and four appendices.

This short treatise contains two lectures delivered by the author. In the first lecture he deals with the geography of the region, its political boundaries and varying fortunes under different rulers. Incidentally he deals with the religious history of Tondamaṇḍalam which is distinguished from Cōlamaṇḍalam and in the second, the importance of this region as the meeting ground of three different cultures, Buddhist-Jain, Tamil and Brahmanical Hindu has been shown. The intellectual activity and the general contribution of this region to the later development of an excellent system of village administration under the Pallava and Cola rule in South India have been discussed. The treatment on the whole is generally categorical and its interest has been enhanced by the introduction of philosophic analyses or repercussions on modern lines. The work is a welcome publication and we commend it to readers.

T. N. C.

**KATHĀKOŚA.** Edited by Pt. Jagdish Lal Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., together with a *Viṣayānukramanīkā*, an *Upodghāta*, a *Padyānāmākārvādikramenānukramanīkā*, and a *Samjñāśabdānāmākārvādikramenānukramanīkā*. Published by the Editor and printed in Devanāgarī at the Bombay Sanskrit Press, Lahore, 1942, pp. vii+180.

At the very outset, we should take the opportunity of congratulating the learned Editor for being able to place at our disposal for the first time an edition of the *Kathākośa*. Although the work was known to us for a long time through the translation of Mr. C. H. Tawney (Royal Asiatic Society, Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., London, 1895), which has been largely utilized in history, nevertheless, the absence of a critical edition of the text was strongly felt by all indologists. The present edition of the *Kathākośa*, which is just out about fifty years after the publication of its translation, is most welcome.

*Kathākośa*, or 'the Treasure of Stories', is an interesting collection of didactic tales, most of which are distinctly Jain in character. In fact, it holds the same place in Jain literature as the *Pañcatantra* in Brahmanical and the *Rasavāhinī* in Buddhist. There are altogether twenty-seven stories (*kathānakas*) in this collection, all of which convey some moral lesson or other. Of these, only two are important and are worth noticing in history, viz. the *Kūlavālaka-Kathānaka*, in the political history of Magadha (B.C. 543 to 443), and the *Nala-Kathānaka*, in the history of Sanskrit literature. The occurrence of the story of Nala and Damayanti (Damayanti) in this collection is really interesting. It shows that the Jainas were at pains to incorporate in their literature the popular or favourite epic themes after fashioning them in their own way, with a view to giving them the stamp of originality and placing a substitute for them in the hands of their co-religionists. But, whether it is the *Dasaratha-Jātaka* or the *Pauma-Cariya*, whether it is the *Naṇinikā-Jātaka* or the *Valhalacūrin-Kathā*, whether it is the *Ghaṭa-Jātaka* or the *Nala-Kathānaka*, the literary effort of the imitators is not only distressing but also ridiculous.

The language of the *Kathākośa* is Sanskrit, which, in respect of quality, is neither chaste nor elegant (cf. p. 58, ll. 6-7, *dhaukitāni nagaradvārāni*; p. 111, l. 3, *gavākṣe caṭito*; p. 129, l. 6, *kope caṭitah*, see also p. 94, l. 21; p. 7, ll. 7-8, *mutkalitah*; p. 6, l. 10 and p. 9, l. 5, *mutkalāyaya*; p. 84, l. 20, *mutkalāpya*; p. 6, l. 7, *śhālīh tharatharati*; p. 114, l. 21, *Bhillānām dhāṭi pātītā*; p. 84, l. 7, *kutyamānām*; p. 67, l. 22, *nijārāmasatkaṁ*; etc., etc.). It is written in prose interspersed with 175 verses, of which seventy-five are in the so-called Western Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭri type) and the rest in Sanskrit. The author does not seem to have possessed a sound knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only he has committed a number of serious grammatical mistakes but has also failed to distinguish between a Sanskrit word and its Prakrit equivalent, with the result that a large number of *Deśi* words have inadvertently crept in and have, thus, got mixed up with the language of the text (p. 4, ll. 5, 6 and 11, *kaḍḍikah*, etc.; p. 22, l. 1, *cūṭhi*; p. 22, l. 3, *chibitah*; p. 40, l. 8, and p. 41, l. 10, *duḡamcchām*, also p. 40, l. 13, *duḡamcchitah*; p. 58, ll. 20ff., *miṇḍakah*, *miṇḍah*, etc.; p. 67, l. 22, *-satkaṁ*; p. 94, ll. 22-23, *dabbaḍakau*, etc.; p. 115, ll. 3, *miṇḍakah*, *miṇḍah*, etc.; p. 67, l. 22, *-satkaṁ*; p. 94, ll. 22-23, *dabbaḍakau*, etc.; p. 115, ll. 3, *miṇḍakah*, *miṇḍah*, etc.). There being no colophon in this work, the name of the author is not known; nor we have been able so far to ascertain it from any other source. It is equally difficult to determine the date of the *Kathākośa*, but judging by the nature and variety of the *Deśi* words introduced, we are in no way justified to place it earlier than the eleventh century A.D. Although the work, as we have it, is comparatively modern, its author has certainly made use of much older material, whatever might have been his sources.

So much for the work itself. A few words need be said about the edition also. The learned Editor has made use of only two MSS. locally available, which are rather inadequate for a literary work of such a nature. But in spite of his limited resources, he has spared no pains to make the work as much useful as possible by noticing all the variant readings and has given sufficient evidence of his scholarship, literary acumen, and sound judgment by accepting only the correct ones. We only wish that he had been able to utilize a few more MSS. for the purpose or, preferably, the oldest one that is yet available in this country. We trust, however, that this deficiency will be made up in the future edition of the text.



*Errare est humanum!* There is no book in this world, which does not contain some mistake or other, and the present edition of the *Kathākośa* is also no exception. Though bound by convention, it is certainly not a pleasant task for a reviewer to point out the slips and omissions occurring in a work under review; and if we point out some of them here, it is not in the spirit of minimizing the literary worth of the *editio princeps*, but in the hope that the learned Editor will be a little more careful, when he will bring out the second edition of the work. To begin with the *grammatical mistakes*, the following may be noticed: *disōdīṣi* for *disīdīṣi* (p. 7, ll. 24-25), *nijakīyāmṛddhīm* for *naijīmṛddhīm* (p. 7, l. 24), *kimupāyaṁ* for *kamupāyaṁ* (p. 9, l. 11), *muklāh* for *muktaḥ* (p. 22, l. 26), *nijamātrpitvormilito* for *nijamātipitvormilito* (p. 23, l. 1), *trivēlām* for *trivelaṁ* (p. 23, l. 3), *dinānyatikrāmāyati* for *dinānyatikrāmāti* (p. 24, l. 21), *karuṇāsvaram* for *karuṇasvaram* (p. 25, ll. 16-17, also p. 57, l. 18), and *dāridrayavān* for *dāridrayavān* (p. 90, l. 9). The following *spelling mistakes* may be noted: *Samkḥapura* for *Saṅkḥapura* (throughout; the spelling *Samkḥa* is, however, allowed in Prakrit and Pali), *sasya* for *śasya* (p. 2, l. 10), *kāṣṭha* for *kāṣṭha* (p. 4, l. 5; p. 113, ll. 5-6), *madya* for *majja* (Pkt.) (p. 116, l. 18), *viṣaya* for *viśaya* (Pkt.), *kaṣāya* for *kaśāya* (Pkt.) (p. 116, l. 18), *deśam* for *deśaṁ* (Pkt.) (p. 139, l. 13), and *badāruṣādāmhīṇa* for *badāruṣādāmhīṇa* (Pkt.) (p. 150, l. 10). As for *irregularity*, the following instances may be cited: *Samṛddhadatta* (p. 5, l. 13; p. 8, ll. 3, 5 and 7) and *Samṛddhidatta* (p. 5, ll. 15 and 17; p. 7, l. 21), also *Samṛddhigṛhe* (p. 5, l. 17); *Koṇika* (p. 129, ll. 19, 22, 28 and 29; p. 130, ll. 1, 7; etc.) and *Koṇaka* (p. 131, l. 23), etc.

It must be said to the credit of the Editor that he has been able to eradicate ordinary printing mistakes much beyond our expectation; and a few of them that are yet left uncorrected relate mostly to the verses, some of which are either incorrectly numbered or not numbered at all (pp. 8, 13, 43, 85, 97-106 and 116). But in spite of these errors, textual or otherwise, the present edition of the *Kathākośa* is dependable and useful. The learned Editor has executed his task in a scholarly manner and has done a distinct service to the cause of Sanskrit literature in general and the Jaina studies in particular.

The edition of the *Kathākośa* under review is a war-time production and, hence, a victim of strict paper economy. We deeply sympathize with the Editor at his disappointment for not being able to set apart a page for the dedication of his learned contribution to his teacher, the veteran Orientalist, Dr. Lakshman Swarup, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon).

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

**GLEAMINGS ON SOCIAL LIFE FROM THE AVADĀNAS.** By Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. *Dr. B. C. Law Research Series*, No. 1, pp. 50. Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri is well known to students of Indology for his numerous and scholarly contributions to the history of ancient Indian culture and civilization. The present work, which seeks to bring together the varied aspects of social life (in the widest sense of the term) presented in two representative Avadāna works, viz. the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Avadānaśataka* of the early centuries of the Christian era, will add to his reputation for clear thinking and lucid exposition besides wide reading. After a short Introduction describing the nature of *Avadāna* works in general and the two *Avadānas* in particular, he deals with his subject-matter under five heads, viz. (i) birth, rearing and training of children, (ii) trade, transport, etc. (Q. why the tautologous 'means of communication' over and above the title 'transport'?), (iii) polity, (iv) religious sects and practices, and (v) some [additional] social data. On the topics selected the author's observations are marked with his usual acuteness of understanding as well as sanity and sobriety of judgment, and the result is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the period of ancient Indian history with which he is concerned. We would only make a few remarks for the author's consideration in the event of publication of a new edition. The picture of rulers stretching their legal right to the property of persons dying without heirs (p. 5) is reflected also in *Sam. Nikāya*, i, 89; *Vin.*, iii, 19; *Jāt.*, iii, 299; and *Dhp. Comm.*, iv, 77, not to speak of *Divy.*, 439-440. The curious physiological beliefs relating to the conception of women (pp. 6-7) should be compared with the teachings of Caraka and other medical authors. The vivid description of a criminal being led to execution (p. 47) has its parallel not only in the late Sanskrit drama called the *Mṛcchakatikā*, but also in *Jāt.*, i, 500; ii, 123; iii, 59, 436; iv, 191, etc. The addition of an index will be very welcome.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

**A HISTORY OF HINDU PUBLIC LIFE, PART I** (Period of the Vedic Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, and the older Upanishads) by U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Ramesh Ghoshal, 35 Badurbagan Row, Calcutta. Pages xii+176. Price Rs.6.

This book forms the first part of a history of Hindu public life from the earliest times to the close of the Gupta period. It comprises three well-documented chapters on the R̥gvedic State, the State in the Atharvaveda, the State in the Vajus Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and older Upanishads, and concludes with a final chapter which draws together and sums up the conclusions reached in the earlier discussions. Vedic literature is a well-cultivated field, and there is often difficulty of choosing from a multitude of interpretations all equally plausible, but none decisively more convincing than the rest; and Dr. Ghoshal does not hesitate to add on occasions fresh suggestions of his own. To seek to review a book of this nature adequately would be to



run the risk of prolonging the review beyond all reasonable limits. We must content ourselves with stating that the book is replete with evidences of wide-reading, careful thought and sound judgment; and that even where the reader may find it necessary to form estimates different from that of the author, he will derive no small aid in the process from the data collected and set forth in a cogent manner in this book.

Dr. Ghoshal's study does not lead to any revolutionary results and is not meant to do so. It is calculated to give a systematic and up-to-date survey of an interesting subject which has so far been studied by fits and starts, and has often been viewed out of focus since the sensational discovery of the Arthaśāstra nearly forty years ago. The Vedic literature shows the transition from the tribal to the territorial State, and this is one of the major topics of study in the work; the territorial States began to make war and peace among themselves, and even establish more or less lasting hegemonies over neighbours. Monarchy was the standard form of government, and though election was known in some places and for some time, and the State was held in commission by the entire royal family elsewhere, still hereditary monarchy and primogeniture came to be recognized soon as the norm. A celebrated passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa appears to adumbrate different types of monarchical constitutions in the central zone of Vedic culture and the surrounding tracts in different directions, but it is not easy to follow this up with parallels or elucidations from other texts. The monarch enjoyed great dignity, prosperity and authority; he did not claim divine descent; he did not own the land in the State; he combined executive, judicial and military functions, but had little or no legislative power; monarchy was a trust. The relation between Imperium and Sacerdotium, Kṣatra and Brahma as they were called in India, is studied in detail. Brahma was held in general to be dominant over Kṣatra though there are other texts stressing their interdependence or even the superiority of Kṣatra to Brahma. In the office of the Purohita, the Brahma had a stronghold in the constitution, but even the Purohita was sometimes disregarded by a capricious or tyrannical monarch.

The beginnings of financial, judicial and military administration are found in the days of the R̥gveda, but of the officers in charge of the various branches of administration no exact details are forthcoming. The names of officers that occur in the texts are discussed by the author in detail. But the terms are tantalizing and we cannot be quite sure of firm ground anywhere. Even the exact place of the Grāmaṇi is not free from doubts. Two popular assemblies are named, the Sabhā and the Samiti. But their constitutions and functions and mutual relations are also matters for discussion.

Society was organized on the basis of *varṇas* with unequal rights and privileges. This remained a characteristic of Hindu polity for all time.

Dr. Ghoshal sums up the significance of his study in the following words: 'The Brāhmaṇas, the nobles, the officials and the people were centres of political power although in ways unfortunately incapable of precise definition. The real significance of the Vedic polity, it seems to us, lies in its making the formative stage in the development of Hindu political institutions. To it we owe those ideas and institutions which were destined to shape the public life of the Hindu people down to much later times.'

The publication of further instalments of this study will doubtless be awaited with great interest.

K. A. NILAKANTA SHASTRI.

**SANSKRIT-TIBETAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY** being an edition and translation of the *Mahāvīyutpatti* by Alexander Csoma De Kőrös, edited by Durga Charan Chatterjee for *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, No. 3, Part III, 1944. Price Rs.8-8-0.

In October 1910 the late Sir Denison Ross with the assistance of the late MM. Dr. Satish Chunder Vidyābhūṣaṇa presented the first fascicule (pp. ix+127) of the *Mahāvīyutpatti*. In January 1916 the second fascicule was prepared. In 1944 the third and the last fascicule was completed by Mr. Durga Charan Chatterjee, M.A., and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Thus an important work has been made accessible to scholars and students of Buddhism.

A scholar to be entrusted with this work should have the following qualifications:—

Sound knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, familiarity with Buddhist terminology, phrases and idioms, a first-hand information of what is going on in the field of modern scholarship, a workable knowledge of Tibetan, and a good command over English.

We regret to point out that the editor has failed to accomplish his task satisfactorily, although he was guided by 'the valuable criticisms and suggestions' of two scholars mentioned by Dr. Kalidas Nag in his Preface. Having the Sanskrit text of the *Mahāvīyutpatti* before him, the supply of the Tibetan equivalents from the Tibetan translation was the easiest part of the work. The Tibetan equivalents were of the least use except as means of determining variants, if any. To any portion of the original now available in a printed edition. He should have taken his guidance at every step from the Pali-English Dictionary in the first instance, next from the Buddhist texts where the terms and words occur in stock passages, and lastly, from their commentaries and the writings of modern critical scholars. The failure to do so on the part of the editor has led to disastrous results as the following glaring instances of error (to cite only a few out of the numerous) will amply testify it.



*Vigata-rāgāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ*, p. 254, translated by 'all things are exempt from passion (or fondness for anything).'

The explanation within the brackets is redundant and does not bring forth the psychological connotation of the term passion. 'Exempt from' is not the correct representation of the meaning of '*vigata*'. It simply means without. All things are without passion (as their inherent property). Cf. *Samyutta*, V, 8; *Samyutta*, IV, 251; *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā*, 268, 269.

*Anāgatikāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ*—'all things are *sui generis*'.

*Agatikāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ*—'all things are without termination'.

The meaning is sadly missed in both. Corresponding to the two words *anāgatikāḥ* and *agatikāḥ* are Nāgārjuna's expressions *anāgamam* and *anirgamam*. The word *gati* stands for destiny, and not for termination. The idea conveyed by both is that neither advent nor egress can be predicated of anything.

*apraṇihitāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ*—'all things are without wish, desire or affection'. The correct rendering would have been—nothing is determined by will. Some have translated the word *apraṇihita* (Pali *appaṇihito*) as free from longing or desire. Cf. *Dhammapāda* (Fausböll) 281, 282. It also means aimlessness. Cf. *Vinaya*, III, 92-93; *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, 351, 508, 556.

*aiyyā bateme sattvā lābha-sat-kāra ślokapacaritās tṛptāḥ sma iti pratijānate*, p. 255—'unsatisfied (or not contented) are these animate beings (though) they say when they have obtained their profit, reverence and praise in verse, they are satisfied'.

Here the sentence is misconstrued and the rendering is in school-boy's English. The adjective 'animate' is redundant. The better and correct rendering would have been—unsatisfied indeed are these beings, (though) served with gain, honour and eulogy, they do not say, 'we are satisfied'. Cf. *Vin.*, II, 196; *Itivuttaka*, 73; *Jāt.*, I, 185, 186, etc. See also P.T.S. Pali Dictionary.

*kāraṇopagāḥ punaḥ sarva-dharmāḥ*—'again everything is produced by efficient causes'. Where does he get the idea of efficient causes? Buddhism eschews the idea of all such causes. The correct idea is 'all things proceed from a cause'. Cf. *Petavallhu-aṭṭhakathā*, 109; P.T.S. Dictionary.

*agram asaṅga-jñānam utsrjya viśiṣṭa-parinirvānārthaṁ sattvā hīna-yānam prā(r)thayante*, p. 256—'they the animate beings having renounced this impartial, holy, excellent and emancipated wisdom, follow the low-principled doctrines of the Śrāvakas'. Where does he get the idea of holy and emancipated wisdom? The intended idea is—Leaving aside the excellent knowledge directed to unattachment, the beings (i.e. men) seek to follow the Lesser Vehicle for personal *summum bonum*. *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā*, 259—*anāsatta citta*. Cf. *Milinda*, 343—*santacittā*.

*kāya-samudācāras*, p. 257—'bodily doings (or practices)', 'performances (or works)'. The word stands for bodily act, action, way of behaving. Cf. *Sam.*, V, 354—*Kāyasamācāra*, *Dīgha*, II, 279; *Majjhima*, I, 272 foll., II, 113; III, 45; *Ang.*, III, 186 foll.

*vāk-samudācāras*—'commandments'. This is far-fetched. 'The word stands for vocal act, utterance, way of speaking.

*dharma-pratisaṃvī*, p. 258—'clear perception of the different doctrines (or religious articles)'.  
*artha-pratisaṃvī*—'clear understanding of the different meanings'.

*nirukta-pratisaṃvī*—'clear understanding of the truly different words (*nirukta* = etymological analysis; interpretation of the original language of the holy scriptures)'.  
*pratibhāṇa-pratisaṃvī*—'clear understanding of the (different) import or force'.

The terms as loosely defined and explained in the texts and commentaries are difficult of translation. So the English equivalents suggested must be of a non-committal character and at the same time sensible. But 'different doctrines (or religious articles)', 'different meanings', 'truly different words' and 'different import or force' are not correct translations of *dharma*, *artha*, *nirukti* and *pratibhāṇa*. The first word stands for the doctrine, the text (worded doctrine of the Buddha, scriptures—*Dhammapāda* *Commy.* I, p. 22), the principle, the proposition; the second for the meaning, the import, the underlying idea, the connotation; the third for the language, the phraseology or terminology; and the fourth for the implication, the elaboration, the disquisition. (Cf. *Milinda*, 21, *Vibhaṅga*, 293 foll.)

*yathāpi mahā-prthivyām*, p. 260—'as one walks on the (vast) continent or dry land'. Here 'vast continent' is inappropriate; great earth would have been literal and idiomatic.

*kāyena vāse varṭayati*—'rules (or has power) over the body of animate existences'. The author has sadly missed the meaning and force of '*kāyena*' which is a third case. This is usually paraphrased by *nāmakāyena* meaning 'by psychic powers, mentally'. Cf. *Nettipakaraṇam*, 41, 69, 77.

*jātsimarah*, p. 261—'he recollects his several generations'. Here 'generations' is not the proper word for *jāti*. The proper rendering would be 'having the power to recollect previous births'.

*vaśitā*, p. 263—'faculty or power for (or over)'. It stands simply for mastery or perfect control over something.

*riddhi*—'transformation'.

The word signifies supernormal faculties, miraculous powers. See P.T.S. Dictionary, p. 121. *yānāniryāna*, p. 264—'seduced by other principles'. Literally the word means 'walking out of the vehicle, going out of the way, deviating from the path'.

*saṃgrahavastu-sarvasattva-saṃgrāhakāḥ*, p. 265—'they that comprehend all animate existences under comprehensible (or material) properties'. Evidently the editor is not familiar with the four *sangahavatthus* (e.g. charity, kindly speech, a life of usefulness and state of equality) of



the Buddhists and the expression *loka-sangāhaka*. The sense to be conveyed is 'they that gather the beings together by the four means thereof'.

*karmāntāh*, p. 266—'the limits of actions or works'. But in Buddhist terminology the word *karmānta* (Pali *kammānta*) simply stands for action, and not for the limit of action. Cf. *Sutta-nipāta*, V, 127, page 22, and *Vibhaṅga*, 235.

*catvāri saṃgrahavastuni*, p. 267—'names of four properties (or qualities) to be acquired'. The expression stands for the four means of gathering the people together (winning their hearts). Some have translated as objects (characteristics) of sympathy. Cf. P.T.S. Dictionary.

*artha-caryā*—'explication of meaning'. The word stands for meaning good, doing good.

*samānāṛthatā*—'similarity of meaning'. The word stands for the sameness of purpose, sympathy, fellow-feeling. Cf. *Lalitavistara*, 30; *Dīvyāvadāna*, 95, 124, 264, etc.—'Caturshu Saṃgrahavastushu'.

*adhiśīlam*—'increase in good morals (training in the higher morality)'. Here there is no question of training. The word stands for the practice of a greater degree of virtue.

*chanda-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṃskāra-samanvāgato rddhipādah*, p. 268—'the wonderful art of relinquishing from his representation or consciousness the covetous deep meditation'. What is the meaning of this jargon? The editor ought to have consulted the P.T.S. Dictionary (p. 121) to arrive at a correct rendering.

*vinīlakam*, p. 270—'becoming blue (dark blue)'. The idea is 'becoming discoloured' (Pali *viparīṭṭabhinnābhām*).

*dirgham āśvasan dirgham āśvasāmīti yathābhūtam prajānāti*, p. 271—'he knows very well the measure (of) how it came that a long breathing was followed by another long breathing'. Here not only the simple thing is rendered difficult but a gross mistake is committed in the construction of the sentence which stands for: while drawing in a long breath I am drawing in a long breath—thus he is perfectly aware of the matter as it is.

*sarvabhūyapratīsamvedyāśvasan sarvabhūyapratīsamvedy āśvasāmīti yathābhūtam prajānāti*, p. 272—'it being the body that feels (perceives; enjoys) all, he knows well that when he has received a breath (or breathed in) it is the body which enjoys (or feels) everything that has drawn in breath'.

What is this—English or Pali or Sanskrit? The sentence stands for: 'While drawing in a breath felt through the whole system, I am drawing in such a breath—thus he becomes perfectly aware of the matter as it is.'

*prīti-pratīsamvedī prāśvasan*, p. 273—'if he utters a breath when enjoying pleasure'. Do we ever utter a breath? He has failed to translate correctly even this simple thing which means while drawing out a joy-producing breath.

*citta-saṃskāra* (= *cittavritti* of Patañjali)—'an emotion of the mind'. Where did he get the idea of 'an emotion of the mind' from? The word *citta-saṃskāra* signifies 'mental function', 'mental process'. Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, 530 foll.; *Sam*, IV, 293.

*indriya-vaimātratā*, p. 279—'names of the different degrees of the mental organs'. In Buddhism the word *indriya* stands for 'faculties', and not for 'organs'. See P.T.S. Dictionary, p. 122.

The three words, *mṛdvindriyāḥ*, *madhyendriyāḥ* and *tiṣṭhendriyāḥ*, which are all *Bahuvrīhi* compounds, are construed differently when they are translated respectively by 'a blunt organ, a middle organ, and a sharp or acute organ'. These should have been better translated by a man whose mental faculty is blunt, a man whose mental faculty is of middle kind, a man whose mental faculty is sharp.

*Dvādaśāṅga-dharma-pravacanam*; *dharma-paryāyāḥ*—'On the names or nomenclature (of the several parts) of the Holy Religion'. Here 'holy religion' is not at all the proper rendering of *dharma-pravacanam* or *dharma-paryāyāḥ*. Why should he speak of several parts, when the number 'twelve' is given? The correct translation would be: The twelve types (or classes) of the doctrinal sayings, the doctrinal (sacred) texts.

*Vyākaraṇam*—'the class of narrative (or historical) works and prophetic stories'. This is far from being correct. The *vyākaraṇa* represents the exegetical treatises in prose, e.g. the books of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.

*Gāthā*—'the class of narrative works in verse'. But the name *Gāthā* is applicable only to metrical compositions, narrative or didactic.

*ādau kalyāṇam*, *madhye kalyāṇam*, *paryavasāne kalyāṇam*, p. 280—'in the first place, in the middle or second place, lastly virtue (or good work) (is to be practised)'. Here one reaches the climax of the editor's utter incompetence. The literal and idiomatic rendering would be: 'good in the beginning', 'good in the middle', and 'good at the end'. Cf. *Digha*, I, p. 62—*Ādi*, *majjhe*, *pariyosāne*.

*ehipaśyika*, p. 281—'this is visible (this must be regarded)'. How faulty and misleading is this? The doctrine of the Buddha is characterized as 'having come and see for its motto'.

*sambodhi-gāmi*—'that (which) makes (one) become perfect, wise'. It may be easily translated as 'leading to enlightenment'. Cf. *Sam*, V, p. 234.

*hrīdhanam* (p. 296)—'the wealth of shame or bashfulness', *apatrāpyadhanam*, 'ditto of modesty, pudency, or chastity'. This is not correct. *Hri* means the consideration of one's own position, honour or prestige in doing or not doing a thing, judiciousness, and *apatrāpya* means consideration of what others may say or think, fear of public opinion.

Besides I must draw the editor's attention to *Digha*, III, 262, *Ang.*, IV, 306, *Vibhaṅga*, 342, etc., regarding the eight stages of emancipation (vide page 288 of the *Mahāvīyutpatti*), to my paper on *sukha-dukkha in Buddhism* (*Mahābodhi Journal*, 1944) and to the *Ānguttara*, Vol. I,



p. 176, regarding eight sorts of pain (vide p. 307—*Mahāvvyutpatti*). Aśvaghoṣa in his *Saundarananda Kāvya* (Canto V) refers to *Nāprijasamprayoga* and *Priyaviprayoga* in connection with his exposition of *Nirvāṇa* (vide *Mahāvvyutpatti*, p. 307—the same terms occur). The editor ought to have noticed it. He ought to have consulted Shwe Zan Aung's *Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy* where the logical signification of the terms *hetu-pratyaya*, *samanantara-pratyaya* and *adhipati-pratyaya* (p. 308) has been fully discussed. The word *pratyaya* is translated by 'relation' or 'causal factor'. It is very strange indeed that the editor should miss the meaning of so well-known a term as *ālambana* which stands for an object of sense or thought. The meaning of *āsevitam* in page 312 is cultivated, *bhāvitam* means developed (*vaḍḍhita*) and *bahulikṛtaṃ* literally means multiplied. The editor's interpretations of these terms are wrong. The reader of the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* is well aware of the fact that the three words *Karmasvakāḥ*, *Karmadāyādāḥ* and *Karmayoniḥ* (p. 312) are *bahuvrīhi* compounds and must therefore be construed as such. The first word stands for having karma as one's own, the second for being the inheritor of one's karma, and the third for having origination in one's own karma. The editor's meaning of *Saikṣa* in p. 313 is incorrect. This term is technically applicable to persons of advanced spiritual ranks below full-fledged arhatship.

The editor should have consulted the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 600), and the *Vibhaṅga-atthakathā* (pp. 166 foll.) in dealing with *catvāraḥ pratyayāḥ* or Pali *catubbidhohapaccayo* (p. 308). Regarding *navasattvāvāsāḥ* (p. 310), the editor should have referred to the *Dīgha*, III, pp. 263 foll. and the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. III, pp. 243 foll. to get a clear idea. Among the *navasattvāvāsā* (Pali *navasattvāvāsā*) we have *ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ* (Sk. *ākāśānanāntyāyatanaṃ*) meaning moral consciousness in the infinity of space, *viññāṇaṇcāyatanaṃ* (Sk. *viññāṇānanāntyāyatanaṃ*) meaning moral consciousness in the infinity of consciousness, *ākīñcaṇṇāyatanaṃ* (Sk. *ākīñcanyāyatanaṃ*), i.e. moral consciousness of nothingness and *nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ* (Sk. *naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatanaṃ*), that is, moral consciousness in which perception neither exists nor does not exist.

Thus we see that the editor has committed many serious errors. The execution of the work is so bad that it needs complete overhauling. In many instances the editor's representation of the Buddhist vocabulary is incorrect. This work should have been revised by a more competent scholar before it is presented as a publication of such a learned body as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Society has no doubt spoiled its good name by publishing this unreliable edition of an important dictionary, which requires re-editing by a scholar who has sufficiently qualified himself for the task.

B. C. LAW.

## OBITUARY

### In Memory of Professor Jean Philippe Vogel

(From the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, August 1944, pp. 227-234)

#### I

The number of scholars whose services to Indian archaeology will never be forgotten, is small; but the stronger proves their influence on the progress of our knowledge of the history of Asiatic civilization. Every gap in their ranks is badly felt, and the death of Professor J. Ph. Vogel some months ago, therefore, means a heavy loss for Indian archaeology. For with him one of the greatest authorities in this field has passed away.

Born on the 9th January, 1871, Dr. Vogel received his academic training at the University of Amsterdam with which he was connected for more than a decade, first as a student, then after having obtained his doctor's degree (translation into the Dutch language of the ancient Indian drama *Mṛcchakatikā*) as a young lecturer. In 1901 he accepted an appointment in Lahore as Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle; in 1914 he returned to the Netherlands in order to assume charge of the chair for Sanskrit and Indian archaeology at the University of Leyden. It was a legacy involving a great responsibility; for here J. Hendrik Kern (1833-1917) had created a tradition of grand style for this important field of oriental researches. Dr. Vogel has maintained it with honour and carried its fame far and wide.

Indeed, the task assigned to him in the Punjab by the British authorities might hardly have found a more efficient and industrious worker. Year for year he produced the most valuable results; in the first nine volumes (since 1902-3) of the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* not less than 18 articles from



Dr. Vogel's pen were published; and in my opinion none of them has now become antiquated although 30-40 years have since passed. The 'Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures', 'Buddhist Sculptures from Benares', the treatise on the history of the sacrificial post, in connection with the Īśāpur find, the analysis of the architecture and iconography of the *Seven Pagodas*<sup>1</sup>—to mention only a few examples—prove the careful selection of Dr. Vogel's themes. He never wasted his time on accidental unessentialities, though he could concentrate his research on individual questions whenever he realized their key position within a greater complex of problems. Thus his interest was attracted to the centuries round the beginning of the Christian era which had been pregnant with far-reaching problems of Indian religious and art history, closely connected with the rule of the Indo-Scythians.<sup>2</sup> To this period he devoted his book on *La Sculpture de Mathurā* (1910), the masterly conclusion of investigations going back as far as 1905 (cp., besides the *Annual Reports*, his still indispensable *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, 1910). Many, not yet fully disentangled, threads connect this old religious city which was to become the export centre for the multitude of icons of the mightiest heterodoxy of India, with the workshops of the Greco-Buddhist masons. Already in 1905 (*Epigraphia Indica*) Dr. Vogel has drawn the attention of scholars to the Mathurā type of the Buddha approaching illumination (Bodhisattva), with the following words: 'At Mathurā a school of sculpture flourished, which was strongly influenced by the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Bodhisattva type, specimens of which found their way to other famous centres of Buddhism. All evidence now available points to the fact that these were the first images of the kind set up at those places (Sārnāth and Śrāvastī)' (p. 174). '... We noticed, however, in describing the Sārnāth Bodhisattva certain features which seem to be borrowed from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra. This fact not only confirms the theory that the practice of making Buddha images originated from the north-west, but also indicates that the flourishing period of the Gandhāra school must be anterior to Kaniṣka's reign . . . ' (p. 178; cp. Foucher, *Gandhāra*, I, 1905, p. 42).

The vexing problem could, however, not be avoided; also Dr. Vogel could not still the uneasy doubts. They are nourished by the arguments brought into the field by Foucher and Coomaraswamy, the champions for and against Hellenism as the teacher of India. As long as the chronology of Gandhāra is so much in the dark, writes Dr. Vogel in 1930, it is 'assez inutile de se perdre en conjectures'. He believes that the initiative came from the North-West, 'mais a quoi bon s'aventurer dans les ténèbres incertaines des origines'. On the other hand, doubts beset him whether the two Bala-Bodhisattva (certified as such by inscriptions) might nevertheless be the earliest personifications of the saviour in the Buddhist cult (*Mathurā*, pp. 34f.). And in 1936 he repeated that Coomaraswamy's thesis of a simultaneous introduction of the Buddha image by Gandhāra and Mathurā seemed improbable to him ('one cannot escape the conclusion that one must have evolved from the other'), but thought also that 'the Yakṣa images of that earlier period are marked by an archaic clumsiness and rigidity such as we also find in the earliest Buddha images' (*Buddhist Art*, pp. 35-37).

At this point iconographic research has made a step forward, though not unanimously. As is well known, the Indian uses the term Yakṣa in a very broad though well-defined sense. It may best be interpreted as a *vox media* of the ancient

<sup>1</sup> Continued by A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, *Memoirs ASI*, 17, 1924, and 33, 1928. In 1931, Dr. Vogel published, in *BSOS*, 6, 539-43, the important article 'Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture'; here on pp. 542f., the motif is discussed which was in 1941 taken up in Thomas Mann's novel 'The Transposed Heads'; cp. *Time* (Chicago), 1941, June 9, where also a retrospect on Goethe's Paria legend might have been desirable; cp. the sources enumerated by Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, 3, 1922, p. 335. Cp. also A. K. Coomaraswamy, in *Speculum*, 19, 1944, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The famous headless stone statue and the bronze reliquary of Kaniṣka are treated by Dr. Vogel in detail in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der K. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, 4 de Reeks, deel 12, Amsterdam, 1913, pp. 272-307, 4 plates. As to the date of Kaniṣka he has finally acknowledged Konow's chronology (ca. 128 A.D.).



Greek and of Goethe's conception of the 'daemon'; in a similar set of ideas E. W. Hopkins has spoken of it as a 'neutral stage'. Coomaraswamy had been the first to yoke together the Yakṣas and Bodhisattvas and to construct from them a co-ordinated sequence of stylistic types; A. Foucher has not followed him, his aversion is but too well known from *Gandhāra*, II, 46f., etc., and *JBORS*, V, 1919, p. 519, footnote 1. Coomaraswamy's series (*Origin of the Buddha Image*, Art Bulletin, IX, No. 4, 1927, and especially *Yakṣas*, I, 1928, pp. 29f.) starts with the Parkham Bodhisattva of the second century B.C. and extends to the Mathurā Buddha of the Gupta period. His verdict that 'there is no room for the insertion of any Hellenistic type' (*Origin*, p. 32; *Yakṣas*, I, p. 30) goes indubitably too far<sup>1</sup>; but his arguments (cp. *Geschichte der Indischen Kunst*, 1927, pp. 51, 324; O. C. Ganguly, O.Z. 1938, p. 43 above) for a derivation of the prototype of the Bodhisattva from the Yakṣa images deserve support. Thus also the conflict of opinions which of the earliest Indian statues so far known to us should be classified as Yakṣas or as Bodhisattvas, loses its acrimony.

If we try to co-ordinate the chief data of the history of religious art and literature, much seems to me to speak in favour of the probability that the Mathurā school (cp. also E. Waldschmidt, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes*, O.Z. 1930, p. 265) consciously adopted, in complement to its indigenous Bodhisattva figures of the Yakṣa type, the—likewise newly created—Gandhāra models of the Buddha already raised to the bliss of Nirvāṇa. In my opinion (cp. *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, VI, 1929, pp. 151, 155, 161ff., my *Buddha im Fürstenschmuck*, 1932, pp. 14f.; *F. W. Thomas Volume*, 1939, p. 242) this anthropomorph conception is a product of the Mahāyānist cult of Gandhāra; with other words, 'Northern' Buddhism has created it when it rose to a world religion on the North-West Indian soil impregnated with Hellenistic ideas. The Gandhāra groups of the Sarvāstivādin and the Mahāsāṅghika, who seem to have been at least equals, may have had a hand in this religious and iconographical reform; and in this connection it deserves to be mentioned that the Chinese regarded Gandhāra as the second holy land of Buddhism, the home and chief centre of Mahāyānism.

Nobody believes that some day the Mahāyāna had come out of the egg, completely grown out, in order to attack the Hīnayāna with the famous seven sacred steps. The movement which had started in Buddhism in the days of Aśoka, grew slowly in strength in the centuries direct before and after the birth of Christ. Not that there had been any dissent with regard to the aim—salvation and again salvation—; but whether, where and how one might pray for guidance towards that aim, this kept occupied the heads and the hearts.

However, for Gandhāra the fundamental Brahmanical-Hinduistic conceptions were not a strict, immovable norm. For as the age of Alexander had shown, the Olympos of the Greeks did not imply such an exclusive censorship. At home every Buddhist had been familiar with the cult apparatus of Śaivism, from the gigantic temple down to the elegant coin with the image impressed on it. People believed that also Buddha's ancestors had venerated the great Śiva. So far art had kept empty the place of the Buddha, filling it with some conventional symbols in the midst of an exuberant relieve art. Could under these circumstances there be indeed any objection against representing him to the faithful also, in all his glory? The scene of the illumination of the Exalted Lord on the eve of his career as a preacher no more formed the centre of his biography. Now people believed to know much, much more of the ordinary and of the mystic-magical episodes of his life. The personification of the Mahāpuruṣa (superman), once conceived in a merely abstract way, went hand in hand with the projection of the Buddha (wisdom = sophia, logos) on the figure of the Buddha and with the allotment of impressive, partly quite independent rôles to the Bodhisattvas (cp. E. J. Thomas, *The History*

<sup>1</sup> Rightly Ramaprasad Chanda, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture*, ARASI, 1922-23, lays emphasis on the 'gradual strangulation of the old indigenous school by the invasion of Gandhāran art . . . the arrangement of the drapery in the Kushān period is a mixture of Indian and Gandhāra styles (p. 168) . . . Hellenistic influence flowed into the art of the Gupta period through Mathurā, for in Mathurā alone we meet with transitional forms . . . ' (p. 170).



of *Buddhist Thought*, 1933, pp. 167-211). The apogee of the system finally was reached in the Trikāya (three-body) doctrine. Though in its details differently interpreted by the above-mentioned sects, it distinguished, in its final form, the transcendent imperceptible Dharmakāya from the body of bliss (sambhoga), perceptible only to the aspirant to the state of a Buddha, and from the phantom (nirmāṇa) body of Buddha for the purpose of teaching and saving mankind.<sup>1</sup> Seen in this perspective, the artistic and ideological collaboration of the 'sculpteurs et écrivains', for which Foucher, I, pp. 621-23, adduces so eloquent evidence, may be understood much better than might be expected from his well-intentioned cautioning, II, pp. 392f. The hint which already A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst*, 1900, p. 159, had given, has proved correct.

However, these considerations throw some light also on Mathurā. Can we expect that this industrious city might have kept aloof in apathy? Its school of sculptors had never been devoted to the exclusive service of Buddhism, or even of one Buddhist sect. It likewise provided votive gifts and other works of decorative religious art for its Jaina customers. In a time of a rising demand for religious images, commercial prudence alone would have been sufficient to recommend an adaptation to new fashions. For did not the much older sculptural tradition of Mathurā offer all the hopes to outrun Gandhāra? Its very geographical situation had brought Mathurā within the vortex of international political and intellectual contacts so far as Northern India had been infected by them at all.

## II.

The historico-epigraphical studies of Dr. Vogel on the Panjāb extend from the oldest times within reach of our investigations to the eve of our present days. The *History of the Panjab Hill States* (1933, in collaboration with Dr. J. Hutchinson) had been preceded by the exploration of the biggest of those miniature States, Chambā, of the size of Montenegro and a population of 147,000, but with a rich heritage of Śāradā inscriptions since about A.D. 680 (*Antiquities of Chambā State, I: Inscriptions of the Pre-Muhammedan Period*, 1911).

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are represented not only by the *Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort* (1920), with their eighty colourplates, but also by several editions of documents on the Dutch trade with the Grand Mughals, accompanied by excellent commentaries. Quite new in this respect are the informations collected in connection with the travel of J. J. Ketelaar to Lahore in 1711-13. His original name had been Kettler, and he came from Elbing in Western Prussia. Ketelaar was also the author of the first Hindustani grammar (cp. *Mededeelingen Ak. Amsterdam, Afd. Letteren* 74, Ser. B, No. 4, 1932; *J. Panjab Hist. Soc.* 10, 1929, pp. 1-94; *Journal van J. J. Ketelaar's Hofreis naar den Groot Mogol te Lahore*, 1937; *BSOS*, 8, 1936 = *Studies* . . . Grierson, pp. 817-22).

An excellent example of Dr. Vogel's historico-philological method is *Indian Serpent Lore or the Nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art* (1926); apart from his attractive little handbook *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java* (1936),<sup>2</sup> this model work has won the largest international circle of readers. The special Indian atmosphere is carefully preserved; his observations on old customs within the sphere of primitive mythology offer many vistas on general folkloristic problems, but he never overcrowds his materia with those tiresome interspersions which have ruined so many compendious studies in folklore. Here as well as elsewhere Dr. Vogel's pen proves its mastery; it succeeds in rendering the most unwieldy material tractable; his style is lucid and supple, never mannered or highly strung. Vogel cautions us before an overestimation of the symbolic substratum in art as also Indian culture

<sup>1</sup> A good survey in Nalinaksha Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna* (1930), pp. 1-128; J. W. Hauer, *Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger*, 1931, pp. 133f., does not lay sufficient stress on the fact that a long time must have past between the first beginnings and the completion of the nirmāṇa doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> The Dutch edition (1932) had not yet included Ceylon and Java. In 1925 the India Society published Dr. Vogel's paper on the influence of Indian art on Java; in the same year also 'The earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java' came out, in part 1 of the *Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, pp. 15-25, 9 plates.



aims at beauty (*JRAS*, 1939, pp. 307ff.). And last but not least! In judging the achievements of others Dr. Vogel never used a poignant or malicious word, this would have been incompatible with the dignity of a gentleman aspiring at the Buddhist *maitrī*.

I may here be permitted to dilate on a characterization of Dr. Vogel's personality. The enjoyable days which I had the fortune to spend with him, as Officiating Director-General of Archaeology (1910-11), in the Chingleput District in Southern India, and later on in Old Delhi, number amongst my dearest memories of this tour; every talk with this distinguished, kindly helpful colleague was a source of disinterested information. Whenever he wrote to me later on, it always was in an untiring effort of offering practical help to younger indologists in their struggle to find a congenial position. Lately a scholar deeply indebted to Dr. Vogel wrote me: 'Two days ago we received the sad news that Professor J. Ph. Vogel in Leyden had died. But no details are available. You know how much he had done for us, and you will understand how distressed we feel. He had been a rarely good and charitable man, and we know what a benefactor he had been to many who did not even know his name.'

Evidence of a similar unselfishness in his devoted work is the 'Instituut Kern'. Opened by him in April 1925, it soon became known by courses on the living Oriental languages and by the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* which, enriched by original articles from the pen of Dr. Vogel, developed to a first-class reference publication. As President of the Institute,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Vogel through all these years watched over these careful reports which were kept going with the help of financial subventions from the governments of Holland, India and Ceylon as well as from Indian rajas. Let us hope that this valuable work of Dr. Vogel will not fall a victim to the horrible war catastrophe which has come over his country. Perhaps it may be permitted to approach the Congress Library in Washington with the request to aid here, if necessary. No better posthumous honour might be bestowed on this great scholar from whose industrious activities both museums and libraries are profiting since decades.

Hanson, Mass., July 1944.

L. SCHERMAN.

(Translated from the German by H. Goetz, Baroda, by kind permission of the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.)

### Prof. Dr. Arthur Berriedale Keith

We are shocked to have the news of the passing away of one of the greatest European orientalists, Prof. Dr. Arthur Berriedale Keith, in Edinburgh on the 6th October, 1944, at the age of sixty-five. No scholar has done so much as he did in the domain of indological studies. Since 1914 he had been Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Edinburgh University. Before this he acted as the Secretary to the Crown Agents for Colonies and then as Private Secretary to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State.

His researches in Sanskrit literature and in Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy will long be remembered by posterity. All his writings are marked by thoroughness of treatment and soundness of critical judgment. He also dealt with international problems and he was an authority on constitutional law.

The world of oriental scholarship is getting poorer and poorer day by day in the recent deaths of many well-known scholars, whose place will not soon be filled up. May his soul rest in peace!

B. C. LAW.

<sup>1</sup> In 1939 he was elected Honorary President; on this occasion his bust was set up (illustrated in the *Jaarverslaag*, 1939). Cp. also Vogel, *De Arbeid van het Instituut Kern*, 1925-35 (1935).

In 1915 he was elected member of the Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, in 1932 he was Vice-Chancellor of Leyden University, in 1937 the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1939 the American Oriental Society made him Honorary Fellow. The British Government conferred on him the distinction of C.I.E.



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